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L E T T E R

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The Societies of United Irishmen

OF THE TOWN OF BELFAST,

UPON THE SUBJECT OF CERTAIN APPREHENSIONS WHICH HAVE ARISEN

FROM A PROPOSED RESTORATION OF

CATHOLIC RIGHTS.

By WILLIAM TODD JONES, Esq.

"We Protestants ought to be meek-spirited, till we are assured of the honesty of our ancestors; for covetousness and circumvention make no good motto for a coach." —

COLLIER.

"I conceive it to be a sacred truth, and written as it were in the tables of Fate — *That the Irish Protestant should never be free, until the Irish Catholic ceased to be a slave.*" —

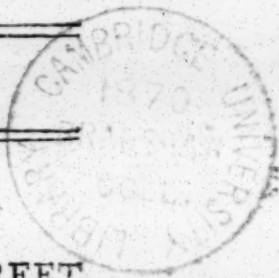
Mr. GRATTAN — Reply to Dublin Volunteers, 1781.

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L E T T E R, &c.

U N D E R S T A N D I N G that a solicitude respecting the security of Protestant tenures, should the Roman Catholics be restored to their parliamentary privileges, has lately a good deal agitated some liberal-minded men in Ulster; a solicitude much increased by a general persuasion that a map now secretly exists, delineating the districts and manors of each forfeiting family—I take the liberty of addressing to so meritorious an Association, a few pages regarding an *apprehension* which appears to me unfounded and delusive; and powerfully subversive of the present auspicious and progressive interests of this late emerging country. And I remember that upon moving the Address to Lord Charlemont at Belfast, in behalf of the Catholics, in 1784, when a few supposed 'great authorities of the day were against us, and when we carried it by means of the people, in

B

opposition

opposition to their leaders, the only argument I had to combat was the terror of forfeiture: the danger of the church was not mentioned, nor apprehended: and when circular letters were, in no very dignified manner secretly dispatched by expresses to Derry, and to other Volunteer Assemblies, afterwards to be reviewed, to defeat the progress of that munificent sentiment, no fear but that of forfeiture was inculcated—which underhand efforts of a few, successful for the time against the principles of the MANY, I recal to your recollection, to warn you against similar attempts and consequences in future.—Confide not in assumed authorities; the liberal and the moderate, *upon their own principles*, must be with you; and the *bigotted in this question*, however learned, or amiable, are to be pitied! and—to be laid aside!—If they have aught substantial to offer, let them come forward with their names, and boldly combat and confute: for notwithstanding the defeat of that day we persevered in maintaining, that before a lapse of a dozen years, the sentiment would gain ground;—that the argument of policy and justice would supersede the operations of avarice or of zeal; and your valuable Association, gentlemen, affords an honourable illustration how reasonably grounded was that opinion—

In cherishing from my early years the august idea of the emancipation of the Catholics from a profligate, mistaken, passionate, and impolitic farrago of statutes of penalty and disqualification, I have frequently enquired into the motives of my own mind, why I should never experience apprehensions upon this subject, in
common

common with many selfish, and some innocent antagonists of such a glorious *restoration* to their country;—and it may pardonably be objected against me, that possessing, from family decline, inconsiderable property to hazard, I could not be liable to that delicate sense of danger which must come home to the feelings of the great Protestant proprietors: But granting I have little comparatively, at stake, that little is *my all*; and I stand in this respect similarly situated with the majority of the Protestants—I hold myself open to conviction by any who will be at the trouble to confute me; and I will then readily subscribe to my error *in now maintaining* that such an *apprehension* is a panic inspired by interested men, unsupported by argument, and unfounded upon the authority of history; that it is the shadow which by too intently gazing upon, may induce us to relinquish the substance; and that it ought instantly and universally to be rejected by Irishmen; and finally returned to the English cabinet, that *store-house of projects* for dividing, barbarizing, and debilitating this island.

“ Let the privilege of the peerage, the elective franchise, and the capacity of representation be RESTORED to the Catholics, and they will compose a majority in parliament who will revive the Court of Claims, and institute an enquiry into defective titles, and an invitation of re-assumption to ancient proprietors.”—

Such is the *panic* which obstructs *national union*: let us, therefore contemplate the ex-

travagant position ; and scrutinize the firmness of its foundation.

It is judiciously observed by Dr. M'Kenna, that when king James's Parliament revived the Court of Claims, one hundred and two years ago, the matter was taken up with *extreme delicacy*, and was *most cautiously* proceeded upon : and all that was hazarded was *to restore persons recently dispossessed by Cromwell* : BUT AT THE SAME TIME *to reimburse all the debenturers whom it should be found necessary to eject*. And I chuse to recal to your recollection THIS SINGLE REVIVAL of the Court of Claims, which was a court instituted by the Protestant government under Charles II. to adjust titles in Ireland, previous to the act of settlement, because it is the strong hold of my antagonists, and the precedent and authority for their fears—And yet, since thirty-four years previous to *that resolution* of the Court of Claims, moderate I may pardonably term it, when passed by men heated by war and recent injury, the Cromwelian proprietors have enjoyed an undisturbed possession of one hundred and forty years ; and are now additionally fortified and sanctioned in their claim, by a long and equally interested catalogue of tenants, creditors, and connections.—But the real circumstance of this revival of the Court of Claims was, and *at the moment of its passing* it was known to a few, to be the fact—to Melfort, to Sir Maurice Eustace, to Chief Justice Herbert, and others,—that it was a barren, political measure, for the purpose of *keeping together their army, and increasing their adherents* ; measures which every executive body is compelled to adopt in periods of doubt

doubt and disturbance : but a measure which never would have been, because, probably, it never could have been brought into effect. As the great Harrington, *for the purpose of a loan*, once proposed a resolution in the Long Parliament, " For letting out the realm of Ireland for ever in fee farm to the Jews: It being either the vice of the climate, of the soil, or the contagion of the natives, that human nature degenerated when transplanted into that island."—

And what does king James himself deliver from the throne upon this head, when opening that memorable and patriotic parliament.—

" I shall also most readily consent to the
 " relieving of such as have been injured by
 " the late Acts of Settlement, *as far forth as may*
 " *be consistent with reason, justice, and the*
 " GENERAL GOOD *of my people.*"—[King's speech to both Houses, 7th of May, 1689.]

A promise of *general good to his people* more fairly, religiously, and effectually followed up by the manly moderation of this subsequent resolution of the Court of Claims, than *many a more explicit declaration of national advantage* delivered from that chair by many a succeeding Protestant viceroy, or deputy.—

For a moment we will enquire here, what this Catholic parliament was?—And next, what it did?—

It

It was in the plenitude of power ; and in possession of the person of the king.—It was at war with Great-Britain, and with its native Protestants at home.—It was in alliance with France, Italy and Spain, and its army was crowded with these national troops.—And all things were in derangement, and all property was at hazard in the state, to tempt and to sanction rapacity and ambition.—

Now, upon the revival of the Court of Claims, what did these Catholics do?—

Did they go back to the incursions of Strongbow for the invalidation of titles, and the reassumption of territory from the occupiers of the day ?——No !——

Did they go back to the nefarious plunder of proprietors in possession who were Yorkists, under Henry VII. ?——No !——

Did they go back to Elizabeth to review the robberies of Lord Deputy Montjoy, and the president of Munster ?——No !——

Did they go back to James I. when six whole counties were declared escheated to the crown in the space of eight days ?——No !

Did they go back to the Asiatic despotism of the *intolerable* Strafford, who in his circuit into Conaught, invalidated one hundred and thirty-seven patents to Catholics in one morning ?——No !——

Did

Did they go back to the subsequent depredations of the puritan Lords-Justices, in the same reign—Parsons, and Meredyth, and Borlace?—No!—

Did they go back FORTY YEARS?—No!*

They instituted an enquiry into the titles of those, many of them living men, who, thirty-six years before, had been dispossessed by Cromwell, the murderer of their sovereign;—and they resolved “*That reimbursement should be made to all debenturers who should be disturbed—*” To those hated debenturers whose rights they never had recognized, and with whose persons they never had held intercourse,

Such, upon this delicate and *tempting* subject, was the wise moderation of a *hostile* Catholic Parliament, amid the barbarism of manners, the dawning of letters, and the ferocious and steeling circumstances of war, one hundred and four years ago:—What then would be the probable measures of Catholics in Parliament *now*, amical to, blended with, and *receiving from Protestants* the boon of a restoration of their birth-right—?—!!!—I disdain to answer; and shall leave it to be supplied by some rosy prebend, or some canting

* Cromwell invaded Ireland in August 1649, and continued here eight months: And lord Broghill moved the division of debenture lands in 1653—which appropriation did not finally take place till 1655; and James’s revival of the Court of Claims was in 1689—not quite 34 years after.

puritan, destitute of genius for government, probity of morals, the manners of a gentleman, the learning of a scholar, or the religion of Christ.

If the Catholics *do* harbour a secret expectation to recover their supposed possessions, surely they have only to nominally recant from the errors of their church, become electors and members of parliament, and *immediately assume* their forfeited estates by virtue of the same titles and power which they would enjoy as *Catholic representatives*: unless their becoming perjured, and Protestants, vitiates their latent claims of pedigree and succession. No additional hazard, therefore, can be incurred by crowding them into the senate, for at this moment (if this argument has weight, and I should wish to see its confutation attempted) *we only retain our possessions* by their not assembling in one united body, and swallowing every oath which churchmen can devise, and civil tyranny enact—*we only retain them* by the tenure of the *Catholics'* sense of religion, and of the sacredness of a solemn appeal to God; that induces them to forego the emoluments of office, and a share in the government, for the religion of their youth, and of their fathers:—Which, therefore, is an admirable reason for the *distrust* of the Protestants, and for the *necessity* of their being restricted to all the thralldom of disfranchisement.—“ Become apostate, and perjured, get into parliament, and you *can* then do justice to yourselves: But retain your religion, your morals, and your integrity, and we sentence you, and yours to slavery for ever!!!”
Nor

Nor is the idea of the existence of such a sentiment in us Protestants so incredible, or unprecedented ; nor are we *upon this subject* to be carried away by the delusive lights of *flattery*, or of *eloquence* : for no genius however exalted is superior to the poison of Prejudice and Bigotry, administered by parental hands, and drunk by the thirsty ears of enquiring infancy.—The illustrious Spencer, when secretary to Lord Deputy Grey, in speaking of the war carried on against the Irish in Munster in 1597, thus concludes, “ The deputy had driven them to *such an extremity of famine, that they digged dead carcases out of the graves for food*: Therefore by all means it must be assured, that after once entering into this course of *reformation*, there be afterwards *no remorse*, nor drawing back, *for the sight of any such rueful objects* as must, thereupon, follow, nor for *compassion* of their calamities ; seeing that by no other means it is possible to *cure* them” [*State of Ireland*, p. 166, Lond. Edit.] It is thus, this British secretary, the boast and pillar of British genius, poisoned by the prejudices of his youth and nation, refuses himself, and *inculcates* to be refused by those in authority who were to come after him, every emotion of *remorse* or *compassion*, to the whole Irish human race!—! and this the British government called A REFORMATION! and this lesson has been pursued with a pertinacity due to such an authority.—Irish man-hunting, and feeding them upon one another, has been succeeded by a more deliberate, and more effectual process of torment and depopulation : and sword and fire has yielded to the *operations* of a penal code, more *extensive*, and not less deadly.

But

But among what description of the Catholic body is this revival of ancient titles expected to originate, upon a restoration of Catholic Rights?—among the rabble, or among the individuals of property and consideration? If among the *rabble*, they have it as much in their power to revive them *now*; *they* never can be in parliament; and the plan of their operations must always necessarily be the same—by numbers, and by violence: and if it is to originate from the Catholic *gentlemen*, the proprietors of lands, or of personal property, *who will necessarily be the first to be returned to the Legislature*, it is not probable that *these men* will be much disposed to promote a *general parliamentary disturbance* of proprietors in possession, that *they* may offer a compliment of *their present acres* to persons with *more lineal titles*; and ransack Europe, or the hoggeries of the kingdom, the present residence of the Irish *people*, for the rightful representatives;—nor could there be devised a more fruitful source of intestine and bitter division among the Catholics of the *present* than a revival of the Court of Claims: Because here are the *most opulent* Catholics themselves, *sent* period, *daily acquiring landed property* upon the *validity of Protestant conveyances*, either by leasehold, or in fee, *in the very estates of those forfeiting Catholics of a former age*, whose right heirs are *presently to be restored*, upon the utter ruin of these *latter Catholick intruders*: *which ruin* is, moreover to originate *with these intruders themselves*, upon *their* first admission into a Protestant house of commons—for in consequence of the late, tho' partial relaxation of the penal laws, *multitudes of Catholics* have *taken valuable leasehold interests* upon the once forfeited,

forfeited, and now Protestant estates of this kingdom; or have *purchased* portions of forfeited estates, from Protestant sellers, upon the validity of Protestant titles, and a Protestant conveyance; or have *advanced money upon Protestant securities*, and are become *mortgagees* to *Protestant properties in lands* which were *forfeited* by Catholics; or have come under marriage settlements with Protestant families: all which Catholics ranging under the above various descriptions of interests in lands, must vitiate their titles, violate their securities, and beggar their children, by any innovation whatever upon the *present Protestant establishment of tenures* in the kingdom: and it is a *truth* notoriously acknowledged, that of the present astonishing increase of building and other improvements in the capital, and its neighbourhood, two thirds are conducted at the expence of, are contracted for, or belong to Catholic individuals——and tho' we are daily trumpeting of forfeitures, and the danger of the Catholics of family looking to recover the lost seignories of their race, yet we hear nothing of the *multitude* of Catholics of family, and many of them those who headed armies, and *were most vehement in opposition to the present establishment of things*, whose *descendants* are * *conformists* at this day: or who by extravagance or misfortunes, *alienated for full value* their family estates to the present novel occupiers, whether Protestants, or Catholics.

It

* The illustrious names of O'Neill, O'Connor, Macdonnel, O'Brien, De Burgh, Fitzgerald, Butler, Wogan, Plunket, Macnamara, Nugent, and a long *et cetera*.

It is the constitution of Ireland—That every man possessed of forty shillings per annum, by that frank tenure which we call a freehold, besides certain persons invested with privileges in cities and boroughs, *shall have a vote* in electing a member of that assembly which *alone* can tax his property :—This was, and is the bulwark of Irish liberty, and without this, we Protestants, should be slaves—*This* is the constitution which *ought* to be communicated to Irish Catholics, *as their ancient inheritance*, and the bulwark of *their* liberty : and let *us* be ashamed, then, in this hour of general safety, and diffusion of philosophy, any longer to assert—That *their property* shall be *taxed* in any assembly to which *their* freeholders and electors do not depute a representative.

I maintain that the Catholic is deprived of the most essential privilege of an Irishman, if the sect to which he annexes himself *can* be taxed by an assembly in which *that sect is not represented*—I maintain that if a number of persons can be deprived of their lives or their property by any other body of people, *such persons are enslaved* ; and whether it be by a nation, or a monarch, is immaterial, the masters only are different, but the government is equally *despotic*. The helots of Sparta were as much slaves as the bondsmen of the Turk, or of the West Indies ; and I challenge writers to enumerate any power which the Spartan republic exercised over the helots, which the English settler has not assumed over his Irish feudatory : The Lacedemonians sported with the lives of their helots—In 1601, Roger Williams, at a gaol delivery at Waterford, *was fired* by Wogan,
Lord

Lord Justice of Ireland, *five marks*, for killing one O'Driscoll, he being a "*mere Irishman*;" by which legal phrase was meant that he had no cross of English blood in him—[Sir John Davis Hist. Rel.] I do not insinuate that the Protestant of the present day may not be disposed to govern his helots with a little more forbearance, and humanity; but however mildly his *despotic* powers be administered, the *servile state* of the Catholic is *not less that of a despotism*.

Let us, then, act wisely, discreetly and affectionately by them while we may:—They are weak by their circumstances, do not make them *strong* by their despair.—The gradual increase of numbers, and of opulence, has added strength to their force, but that force is willing to repose in the arms of their Protestant brethren, unless it be provoked and awakened by *insolence* superadded to injury—The numbers of a people are not so formidable, as their union, their hatred, their fury—If our dominion be founded *only* in *our* strength, it *can* subsist no longer than *their* weakness; and *it is evident* that we shall hold the Catholics by a better security, if we do not continue them in subjection; because we know that a *free nation* can support greater burthens than nations *equally opulent*, that are *enslaved*—No power, no management has ever succeeded to tax the latter as highly as the first; and the efforts of despotism of a single, or of half a million of tyrants, have ever produced only depopulation, and rebellion—

Let us consider *in time*, at how much cheaper a rate, as well as one more consonant to the noblest feelings of the heart, the friendship
may

may be acquired of a grateful, than of an exasperated people—Our brutal code may be construed to have succeeded for a century, *because it was endured*; but such ferocious laws, resembling the malevolent instigation of dæmons, were not at their formation, more inadequate to their object, than they *are now totally inefficacious to future security*—For joined to domestic apprehensions, let us also beware of the *efforts of any foreign tyranny*; of the attempts of external oppression: the greatest personage of his age, during the American controversy, maintained, that two millions of fellow subjects deprived of their liberty *must* in time become proper instruments for rendering slaves of the remainder; and, *nearer home*, there may be a *fatal* justness in his observation—Those whom we uselessly, bigottedly, blindly, and insolently, have *diminished to vassalage*, and have determined that they shall be continued in it, *cannot always* wish well to the freedom of their oppressors!!!

To you, gentlemen, professing and practising far different principles of policy, and humanity, I, who fear no public men,, and confide in very few, address these sentiments of my heart, consistent with my earliest political ideas—I *know* they are unanswerable, because the doctrine is founded upon the avowed principles of the Whigs themselves—when they forsake this ground they forsake their own strongest mainstay: and when they, I speak of the general body of the Whigs of both kingdoms, begin to split hairs, and cavil in casuistry, because *justice* extends their own doctrine to their Catholic fellow subjects, every disinterested
man

man will revolt from the sophistry, and will exclaim in well founded indignation, like Macbeth to the midnight magician assembly—

Be these speaking men no more believ'd,
Who *palter* with us in a *double sense* !
Who *keep* the word of promise to our *ear*,
But *break* it to our *hope*.—

The necessity, the policy and the justice of restoring the right of suffrage to the Catholic landholder is incontrovertible : It bestows a *stable self-interest* to three millions of persons in the *general prosperity* of the island : it places the *peasantry* of the kingdom, that *most* important portion of the community, *upon a level of equality* respecting their landlords, and in their civil causes and competitions : and *every experienced man knows*, and *every candid man acknowledges* the infinite disadvantage with which a Catholic peasant, and frequently a man of higher station, meets a freeholder through every county in the kingdom, in all assize, civil, and landlord competitions and concerns.

I therefore tenaciously adhere to my first and early position, regarding the necessity of restoring to the Catholic body the legislative faculty of the constitution—whether in the vulgar phrase, they be fitted or unfitted, qualified or unqualified, sufficiently enlightened or in the darkest ignorance, measures ought instantly to be adopted by the government of the country, and a commencement ought to be made for accomplishing that measure, so indispensibly demanded by the *necessities* of the *greater part* of the community, and by the *peculiar* situation of *all*.

And

And who shall venture to affirm that a spirit of freedom is a novel idea in a Catholic bosom? What Protestant, except some Protestants of the present day, who talk and vapour, but never read, can refuse his admiration to Sarsfield, although he fought against his ancestor;—or who of *us will adventure to deny* that the declaration of the Catholics at Trim, and the statutes of the parliament assembled by King James II. pointed out the path to our present constitution, and marshalled us, latter Protestants, the way which we should go—patriot deeds of not less monumental glory, because they were thievishly blotted from your journals; and the whole proceedings of that parliament attempted to be smothered in oblivion by a succeeding *British influence*, to whom such deeds were terrible: like a robber skulking till the hour of quiet and imbecility, it darkened their deeds of glory, and filched the jewel of their reputation away—

I am in possession of that sovereign's opening speech to this parliament, and of the statutes which it enacted: A bill of rights; a repeal of Poynings; an assertion of the independence of the Irish Legislature, and *an act for the encouragement and increase of Irish shipping and navigation*—in which latter are the four following clauses, “ And be it enacted, that it shall be
 “ lawful for his majesty's *subjects of the realm of*
 “ *Ireland*, and for all other persons of what
 “ nation soever residing here, *freely to trade in-*
 “ *to, and from all his majesty's plantations, colo-*
 “ *nies, and islands, in Asia, Africa, and America,*
 “ *and to export from this kingdom, and carry unto*
 “ *all the said plantations, colonies, and islands, and*
 “ there

“ there sell and barter all sorts of goods, mer-
 “ chandizes, and commodities, as well of the growth
 “ and manufacture of this kingdom, as of any other
 “ part of Europe, commonly called European goods ;
 “ and import and bring into this kingdom of
 “ Ireland, all sorts of product and merchandize,
 “ the growth and manufacture of any of these said
 “ islands, colonies, and plantations, without being
 “ obliged to land, or unload in England, Wales,
 “ or Berwick on Tweed ; or to enter any such
 “ goods or merchandizes there : and without being
 “ obliged to enter into any bond, to bring the
 “ said goods into England, &c. &c. upon ship-
 “ ping, or taking on board, in the islands
 “ colonies, and plantations—:”——“ And be it
 “ enacted, for the more encouragement of build-
 “ ing good and serviceable ships, in this kingdom
 “ of Ireland, that any person or persons, who
 “ shall build, or cause to be built, within this
 “ kingdom, any ship or vessel, above twenty-five
 “ tun, shall and may, for the first three voyages
 “ such ship or vessel shall make, upon the said
 “ ship or vessel’s, return from such voyage,
 “ receive, or be allowed to his, or their proper use,
 “ one eighth part of the duties of customs and excise,
 “ which shall be due or payable to his majesty,
 “ and his successors——:” “ And likewise, that
 “ any person or persons, building in this king-
 “ dom, any ship or vessel, exceeding in burthen
 “ one hundred tun, shall receive for the first four
 “ voyages made by such ship, upon her return
 “ back to this kingdom, one eighth part of the
 “ duties of custom and excise——.” “ And to the,
 “ end that masters of ships, seamen, mariners,
 “ shipwrights, carpenters, rope-makers, and block-
 “ makers, may be encouraged and invited to come
 “ and dwell in this kingdom, and that thereby,
 “ navigation may improve and increase, be it
 C further



“ further enacted, that all masters of ships, ship-
 “ carpenters, mariners, rope-makers, and block-
 “ makers, who are at present residing within this
 “ kingdom, or who shall henceforth come and
 “ reside in this kingdom of Ireland, *shall for the*
 “ *time and space of ten years, be free, exempted, and*
 “ *discharged of, and FROM ALL SORTS OF TAXES,*
 “ cesses, watch, ward, and quartering of soldiers
 “ and officers, in and throughout this kingdom;
 “ *and shall likewise be allowed his or their free-*
 “ *dom, gratis, in any city, town, sea-port, or*
 “ borough, where he or they shall please to
 “ reside, and pursue their calling and trade.—”

“ And be it further enacted, that in the respec-
 “ tive cities and towns of *Dublin, Belfast, Water-*
 “ *ford, Cork, Limerick, and Galway, there shall be es-*
 “ *tablished, erected and settled, before the first day of*
 “ *December, 1689, in each of these said towns and*
 “ *cities, and so continued for ever, hereafter,*
 “ A FREE SCHOOL, *for teaching and instructing the*
 “ *mathematicks, and the art of navigation ; and in*
 “ every such school, there shall be placed and con-
 “ tinued *able and sufficient masters, for teaching*
 “ and instructing the said arts.”

Behold here a Catholic Parliament, which
extorts our admiration :—A code of *constitution*
 worthy of the *imitation* which, in part, it has
 latterly received.—Let us now turn to the re-
 verse of the medal, and contemplate the
 language of *our* ancestors, in a statute of the
 seventh of William the Third, 1695.

“ Forasmuch as this kingdom of Ireland is,
 “ by the laws and statutes of this kingdom,
 “ declared to be justly and rightfully *depending*
 “ *upon, and belonging to the imperial crown of*
 “ *England,*

“ *England*, and forasmuch as since the happy
 “ accession of his majesty, king William the
 “ Third, to the imperial crown of England,
 “ whereunto this kingdom of Ireland is insepa-
 “ rably annexed, united, and belonging, no
 “ parliament can be holden within this kingdom,
 “ unless by his majesty’s authority, yet, never-
 “ theless, divers persons, during the late war and
 “ rebellion in this kingdom, did, on the seventh
 “ day of May, 1689, assemble themselves at Dub-
 “ lin; and being so assembled, did pretend to call
 “ themselves a parliament, and did make and
 “ pass pretended statutes, and did cause the
 “ same to be placed among the records of par-
 “ liament; *all which pretended acts are designed*
 “ *in manifest opposition to the sovereignty of the crown*
 “ *of England:—*And whereas his said majesty,
 “ *out of his pious care for his dutiful subjects of*
 “ *this kingdom*, was pleased to declare, BY AN ACT
 “ OF HIS PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, MADE AT
 “ WESTMINSTER, in the first year of his ma-
 “ jesty’s reign, that the said pretended par-
 “ liament was an unlawful and rebellious assem-
 “ bly; *for which we, the lords spiritual and*
 “ *temporal, and commons, in this present parliament*
 “ *assembled*, DO RETURN OUR MOST HEARTY AND
 “ UNFEIGNED THANKS to his most sacred majesty:
 “ And to the intent *that no memorial may remain*
 “ *hereafter among the records of parliament*, OF ANY
 “ OF THE ACTS of the said unlawful assembly,
 “ Be it enacted that all and every the acts, and
 “ the rolls whereon the said acts are engrossed,
 “ and all the journals of the said pretended
 “ parliament, shall, by the officers or persons in
 “ whose custody the same are, be brought be-
 “ fore the chief governor of the kingdom, at
 “ the council chamber in Dublin; and there be
 “ *publicly cancelled and utterly destroyed:—*And
 in

“ in case any person, in whose hands the same
 “ acts and rolls shall remain, do wilfully neglect
 “ to produce the same, every such person shall
 “ *forfeit the sum of 500l.* and be incapable of
 “ any office or employment whatever.”

And this they enact, (after unfeignedly thanking his sacred majesty for his *Westminster act of parliament*, to regulate *their affairs in Ireland*) without taking up, or recognizing *any one of these valuable clauses in the foregoing act of James*, which they thus rendered nugatory; and without hazarding a single effort, *to assert or explain the constitution!*—a work which they and *their Protestant successors* left undone and neglected for near one hundred years after!—But such was the stipulation with England—“ Assist *us* in our tyranny over the Catholics *at home*; and we will barter *to you* our trade, our ships, and our constitution——.”

These Protestant lords and commons, at length feeling no longer occasion for the *sword*, next proceed to exercise the *whip*; and to enact statutes for disarming Papists, for banishing out of the kingdom all Papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the Popish clergy, for prohibiting Papists intermarrying with Protestants, for preventing the return of Papists ever into this kingdom who had fled into France, for prohibiting Papists of every station and rank from possessing a horse worth five pounds;—and *subsequent* statutes, in *two following reigns*, only deviated from these unmanly, ungenerous, and unnecessary precedents, in speaking the language of tyranny in *prohibitions* more brutal, more slavish, more cowardly, and more unchristian—declaratory at once, of the hideous gratifications

fications of *revenge*, and of the recreant terrors which they continued to endure of their courageous, but prostrate foe.

And shall *we*, *latter Protestants*, suffer ourselves to be the dupes of such vile and sanguinary passions; and be the continuators of their unnatural effects? Shall *we* persevere in the infernal effort of *unmanning the human race, embittering the human heart, deadening the human genius, and degrading and disfiguring the image of God*——?——No!—for one man, I shall say, that if our fathers' dreams of imagined danger still had an existence, I would repeal the Penal laws, and rather fight the Catholics again, at a second Limerick or Boyne, than continue a cruel oppressor in a beautiful island, where, by *debasing another, I degraded myself*; than *inflict upon my own heart all the accursed sensations attendant upon tyranny, conscious, premeditated, and implacable!!!*—

At this moment there exist against this proscribed and devoted people, thirty-six penal statutes, and forty penal clauses, detached over other acts: nor will it be credited, notwithstanding the boasted relaxation of the penal code, of what a tyrannical, comprehensive, and sanguinary complexion the bulk of these statutes are—till they shortly appear before the national eye, in a separate publication, under the auspices of some professional gentlemen, very competent to the business of collating them

That the commons and privy council of king James, also, entertained *ideas of a modification, or a reform*, of the odious rotten boroughs of
this

this kingdom, appears a circumstance nearly approaching to certainty, from the *new charter issued by him to Belfast*; and a *similar one* in every respect, to *Clonmel*, and to some other close boroughs.—*His charter to your own town is still extant in your books, and to it I with confidence refer you,* when I advance the probability, that the band of patriots who composed his Parliament and cabinet, comprehended in their extensive views, at once—the restoration to their country of trade, and legislation, and a genuine parliamentary representation of the people.

With how much shame ought succeeding Parliaments to have contrasted these virtuous efforts of a *Catholic assembly* for a *free trade*, a *maritime establishment*, and a *reform of representation*, with *their own prohibitions of science*, *their abused colleges*, and *their contemptible charter schools*: *their relinquishment of the independence of the Irish legislature*, and *their surrender of its trade to the monopoly of Great-Britain!*—But we still hope for better times, and for principles of government more enlarged, and comprehensive: and better times have already arrived: and an Irish Parliament, ANIMATED BY ONE MAN, *has asserted our constitution*, and in part retrieved our trade.

In these statutes of king James, and in his majesty's speech, there is no where to be discovered the odious qualifications for teachers or academicians "being Catholics," or "being Protestants;" and as the *whole tract is scarce*, and in no wise afraid to meet the light, and public discussion, whether in point of moderation towards their enemies, liberality in religion, ardor for commerce, or a devoted principle of national liberty and *the constitution of the kingdom*; it shall shortly be

be presented to the public, in a new edition—to testify how remote are the dreams of prejudice from the obstinacy of *facts*, and how languid the blindness of bigotry, before the illumination of history, and the slow, but irresistible sovereignty of truth.

“ But there is a map!”—whispers some English prelate to some English chaplain, aid de camp or private secretary——“ Oh Sir, there is *a map* would singe your eye-brows but to smell to the fiery fragment—you would bless yourself to peruse the hideous, barbaric names with which it abounds;—published, Sir, by that dangerous Catholic, O’Connor, for the sole purpose of reminding herdsmen and ditchers what great folks were their grandams:—Yes Sir, *a map* with the alarming popish pedigrees as long as the Birdcage Walk, and at their root, the old sanguinary Irishmen themselves, lying extended each upon his own Milesian feignory——”

Now, this inoffensive, and ill-fated map, published by Mr. O’Connor, as an acceptable present to the learned and historical world, was printed by Wogan, No 23, Old-bridge, Dublin, about the year 1777, and is at present upon my table. It is denominated in the shield, “ Ortelius Improved; or a New Map of Ireland; wherein are inserted the principal families of Irish and *English* extraction, who possessed that kingdom at the commencement of the 17th century;”—and it is dedicated by permission to the present Duke of Leinster.—

It is a fragment of taste—an obscure and imperfect delineation :—a map for a poring antiquary—an abstract, chronological curiosity—a
map

map without boundaries of barony, town-land, or parish ;—composed of names, for the greater part unannexed to any description of territory, but the naked counties—without pedigrees, branches of families, christian names, or any possible clew to direct particular descendants of houses, to trace, or to bring evidence of their claims, or of their origin.—

Peruse the map :—Let this alarming piece of ordnance be measured and scrutinized :—In Tyrone if we find the imaginary indelible title of O'Neill, and O'Hagan ; there is as effectually secured a *like claim* of right, from possession, *upon the evidence of this instrument*, to Hamilton, Caulfield, and Chichester : *for all these names stand together*, expressed in the same character ; and are *equally* hallowed by this antiquated memorial. Look at the other extremity of the kingdom : Barry, Brown, Barret, Roche, Carew, Boyle, De Courcy. Fitzgibbon, and Fitzgerald—range with O'Callaghan, O'Driscoll, O'Donovan, and O'Donaghoe—all which present resident Catholics names, *now retain* a very respectable share of the estates of their ancestors, or of their tribe : consequently let the Court of Claims revive when it may, they are logically precluded from violently seizing upon what is already in their own possession.

The proprietors of Armagh are comprized under Brownlow, Caulfield, Atcheson, O'Neill, and O'Hanlon :—Of Lowth ; under Bellew, Taaffe, Vernon, Dowdall, Flemming, Netterville :—Of Meath ; under Barnwall, Nugent, Taylor, Preston, Plunket, Hufsey, Dease and Chievers :—In Donegal, Derry, and Firmanagh, we do not trace one British name, except Boyle, and Cole ; nor
a native

a native one, but Macguire, O'Flannagan, and Mac Donough : and where little O'Flannagan is now to be found, except in " Goldsmith's Good Natured Man," Ortelius must return from heaven to tell.—The proprietors of Monaghan and Cavan are comprized under Mac Mahon, Hamilton, O'Reily, Sheridan, Corry, Plunket, Brady, Kiernan, Cole, and Mac Tiernan :—Of Down, and Antrim; under White, Mac Gennis. O'Neill, Macartan, Savage; Mac Donnell, O'Hara, and Macquillan. These seven latter counties are now *pretty securely peopled, occupied, and settled* : O'Neill, and O'Hanlon are in a minority in Armagh; and Magennis and Macartan must have other aid than a free parliament, to dispossess the Hills and the Rawdons, in Down; or the Macquillans to drive back to Scotland the Macdonnells of Dunhuce, Mazareen, and the Glynns. The Proprietors of Longford and Westmeath are comprized under Farrel, Tuit, Delamar, Cruise, Dalton, Dillon, Malone, Fox, Geoghegan, Daly, and Fitzlimmons :—and gentlemen will here observe, that *almost every name*, either of the ancient, or the Protestant church, in these once bloody counties, *are now resident families there*, cemented together for a century; and by neighbourhood, consanguinity, friendship, and *property, pledged to peace*. Of the Queen's County; under Moore, Dempsey, Wandesford, Brennan, Fitzpatrick, Coughlan, Maloy, and Carol :—Of Kilkenny and Tipperary; under Butler, Mathew, Maddin, Egan, O'Brien, Kennedy, and the most ancient family of the O'Dwyers of Kilnemanah :—Of Waterford; under De la Poer, Sherlock, Aylward, Fitzgerald, Boyle, Felan, Walsh, and Carew.—Here is *scarcely a British or an Irish name*, comprized in these three most important counties, which is not *at this day* a conformist,

formist, and in possession of respectable, or of *enormous* landed property ; sanctioned by the authority of this *alarming* chart :—Of Carlow and Kildare ; under Cook, Bagnal, Cavanagh, Fitzgerald, Rochford, Wogan, Eustace, Aylmer, Allen, Sarshfield and White :—Of Wicklow and Wexford ; under Byrne, Toole, Murphy, Cavanagh and Colclough :—Of Limerick and Clare ; under O'Brien, O'Connor, Mac Mahon, O'Loughlin, O'Gorman, Mac Clancy, and the princes of the country, Macnamara :—Of Mayo ; under Brown, Burk, Bingham, Fitzmaurice, Joice and O'Maley :—Of Kerry, under Brown, Mac Carty, O'Sullivan, O'Leary, Mac Gillicuddy, O'Mahony, Mac Ellicot, Fitzmaurice, Denny, Crosby, Trant and Blennerhasset.——Of Dublin ; under St. Lawrence, Luttrell, Talbot, Warren :—Of Sligo ; under O'Hara, O'Bean O'Dowd, Mac-Conavy, Mac Dermot, Jordan, Dillon, Nangle and Philips :—Of Leitrim ; under Mac Gauran, O'Rourke, and Mac Randal :—Of Galway ; under Blake, Lynch, French, Brown, Burk and Madden :—Of Roscommon ; under Bermingham, Crofton, Burgh, Donellan, Fallon, Kelly, Mac Naughten, and the monarchs of the island, O'Connor, to this day, in lineal descent from Roderick ;—but they have hitherto kept it very closely to themselves, if they entertain any intentions of reassuming the sovereignty : and let my friends commence Pretenders when they will, my allegiance was long since sworn to his present Majesty, and I never will transfer it, either to a Republic, or a Pretender.

And this is the whole map ; which contains a compilation of British and Irish names of families, whose descendants, representatives, or
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clan, *still retain*, out of all proportion, *the greater share of territory* in a large majority of the thirty-two counties; the Irish moiety of which names, or those of England still remaining Catholics, cannot, therefore, upon the validity of this map, *now occupy these counties by violence*, unless like the miser, they may be amused by pilfering from themselves: and the *Protestant families* mentioned in it, discover here *their titles*, recognized by all the *authority* which this instrument can convey; in my opinion a *very poor one*, but such as it is, it is explicit in bearing testimony to the authenticity of *their claims*.—My endeavour was to ascertain, that the authority of the map was very slender, but if any, that it *specially establishes* the right in possession of the most conspicuous of our *present Protestant* nobility, and of a majority of our present most opulent private gentlemen.

I have thus wearied you and myself, with this tedious but accurate delineation of Ortelius, because many *pretend* to dread the map, who never saw it: and *some who possess it*, are not willing to disclose it, but reserve it as an instrument of mysterious intimidation.

But *from what period*, upon the emancipation of the Catholics, *is this reassumption of lands to commence*, amid the fluctuations of property, and through the series of these bloody and barbarian events, to which this divided, and pelican-like island, feeding its children with its own blood, has been subservient for 400 years?—Is this enquiry into titles to originate with the incursions under Strongbow?—No!—For *two thirds of the great Catholic families* of the present day, ruined or in affluence, are the descendants of those who composed the train of that Earl of Pembroke,

Pembroke, or of succeeding British marauders : and, therefore, Aylmer, Plunket, Dalton, Fitzsimmons, Walsh, Delamar, Talbot, Bellew, Neterville, Barnwall, Preston, and the other Catholic families enumerated in the map, *and not Milesians*, must accede to relinquish every colouring of title, *before the territorial claims* of the Milesian race. When O'Nial of Tyrowen, in 1602, was marching to join the Spaniards at Kinsale, he passed at Mallow, near the castle of Hugo De Barret, and being informed that it was the habitation of a zealous Catholic, whose ancestors had been in possession for 400 years: " I hate the English churl, notwithstanding," said the Firbolg, " as if he had arrived but yesterday."——

The M'Cartys were kings of the kingdom of Cork, at the first incursions of the Welsh, and it was Strongbow himself, who subdued Dermot Mac Carty More:——Shortly after the same period, the Barnwalls reduced the O'Sullivans, and seized and settled at Bearhaven, in the county of Cork: and early in the reign of Henry VII. the O'Sullivans retaliated, attacked them at an advantage, and utterly slaughtered and extirpated the clan: for such events were not unfrequent in these dark and sanguinary days.—To whom therefore, *upon a general restoration of property*, is the castle of Hugo De Barrett, the kingdom of Cork, and the territory of Bearhaven to be adjudged, by a *parliamentary committee of Claims, formed out of the modern Catholics* of the kingdom? Or with what colour of conscience, can *the Milesians* be reluctant to make restitution of their estates to O'Connor O'Driscoll, and the genuine *aborigines* of this ancient island: for it is a *well known fact*, and no doubt of *extreme importance* at the *present period* of
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of the world, *to be ascertained*, that O'Connor, O'Driscoll, and my own ancestor Fagan, were great folks in Hibernia, before the Milesian adventurers had arrived in Spain, or had even taken shipping from Phenicia.

Is this formidable *reassumption* to originate with a subsequent critical æra of Irish misery, *the destruction of the Lords of Desmond*, and the bloody triumphs of Lancaster over York, under the partisans of Henry VII. his son, and grand-daughters?—Here was a new succession of intruders upon Irish territory; for except the Fitzgeralds of Leinster, the Savages, and a few other princely Houses, all Ireland was devoted to the line of York, and almost all the kingdom, worth subjugation, was ravaged by the selfish and suspicious Tudors:—No, it cannot commence with the Tudors: for in that case what is to become of the *present possessions* of several great Catholic families now resident in Munster, who either *rose upon the ruins*, or who *now occupy the territory* of the attainted Earl of Desmond, and of his numerous followers?—Will *these families* relinquish Munster to *his descendants*; for the heirs of Desmond, are not *extinct*; and still less, *those of five hundred gentlemen* beside, whose lands and lives were involved, and lost in his overthrow.—“The Earl of Desmond [says Baker’s Chronicle, p. 361] possessed whole counties, together with the county palatine of Kerry, made so by Edward III. and had of his own name and race, *at least five hundred gentlemen* at his command; *all whom*, with himself, lost their lives within the space of three years,”—which is continued by Leland, Vol. II. p. 278. “In this dismal situation of the once great Desmond, his Countess fell upon her knees before the Lord Deputy,

Deputy, and with tears petitioned, but in vain, that her husband should be received to mercy; but his force as a rebel was now too inconsiderable, and his *possessions to be forfeited were of too princely an extent*, for the Queen's Ministers to admit of pardon or submission."—The first equitable question, therefore, to be asked by the *Court of Claims*, must be, "Where are the right heirs of the Earl of Desmond, and of his *five hundred* followers?—And the next second question will be put to the *present Catholic occupiers* of those whole counties, and of the county palatine of Kerry: "What title, or right have you to usurp, and occupy these lands?—*Here* are, therefore, fruitful seeds of intestine division among the Catholics themselves, respecting ancient titles, and claims—even supposing the Protestants totally out of the question.—

Or is this *reassumption* to commence from the latter years of Elizabeth, from James, or from Charles I.?—For to render it *practicable*, it must have a popular origin, a plausible preamble; and *legal reasons* must be offered and alledged; which last, however, I acknowledge, have seldom been wanting, when required by arbitrary power, to sanction any oppression, however iniquitous, or any project, however unconstitutional.

With Elizabeth, for a further reason, it cannot commence: through the *whole* of her reign, and the beginning of James I. *it was the established policy*, to dispatch and plunder an *Irishman* of consequence, and to distribute his possessions among unfortunate dependants and miscreants of his own *nation*: When Mac Mahon, chief of Monaghan, was *murdered according to form*, by the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliams, the bulk of his lands
was

WAS BESTOWED UPON FOUR NATIVES. " The estate of the unhappy Mac Mahon, says Doctor Leland, was distributed to Sir Henry Bagnal, and *four of the old Irish Septs*.—The condemnation of this Chieftain, confirmed the *Irish* in their aversion to the English policy, which they considered *as a system of hateful cruelty and tyranny*." [Hist. Ireland, Vol. II. p. 317.] And Morrison relates, [Historical Relation, p. 120.] " That Lord Mountjoy never received any *Irishmen* to the Queen's mercy, but such as *had drawn blood upon his fellow rebel*: and therefore, when the two allies, Mac Mahon, jun. and Macartymoyle, both offered to submit to her Majesty, his Lordship *would receive neither, without the other's head*." —" I have made, says Lord Mountjoy himself, in a letter to England, some of these reclaimed men *put themselves in blood* already; for even now I hear that Lord Montgarret's sons have killed their friend Clancare, and some of Tyrell's follower's, since I threatened their father about something I heard suspicious of them."—And when in the same reign, Nugent applied to the president of Munster *for pardon*, upon submission, *he was informed his repentance could not be received until he performed some extraordinary service upon his own party*—(meaning that he should basely betray, or perfidiously murder some of his kindred, or allied friends).—Nugent, reduced to heavy streights, daring, and desperate, betook himself to the Earl of Desmond, and a few days after, riding in his company, upon the Earl's back being turned, he levelled against him a pistol loaded with two balls; but Desmond turning round, perceiving his intent: Nugent spurred hard to escape by the goodness of his horse, but he stumbled, was taken, and
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acknowledging his intent, was executed next day.—In his examination, he confessed his intention was to destroy the Earl of Desmond, and afterwards to post away to his brother, James Fitzgerald, call him aside in a secret manner, as if to acquaint him with his brother's death, and then execute as much upon him.—He added that they might take his life, but there were *many more*, whom he perfectly knew, that *had sworn unto the President*, to effect the murder of both, *upon promise of their lands.*—[Paccata Hibernia, fol. 37-8].—“The army of Elizabeth was crowded with *Irish*; who were most active and zealous in the reduction of their countrymen.—Hugh O’Nial, Earl of Tyrone, had the command of, and lead all the Queen’s forces, which were so successfully sent against MacGuire: and at the surrender of Kinsale, Burke, the Earl of Clanricard, killed with his own hand above twenty Irish; and cried out—to spare no rebels! some Irish, of quality, were taken prisoners, who offered great ransoms, but upon their being brought to the camp, they were all put to death, and the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliams, knighted Clanrickard in the field”—[Morrison, p. 187].—“No man, said Sir George Carey, did bloody his sword *upon the Irish* more than Lord Clanrickard; and he would not suffer any man to take any Irish prisoners.”—[Paccata Hib. fol. 235].

Where is the foundation here of *adjustment of property* among the heirs of *these discordant Irishmen*?—Will the representatives of Mac Mahon remember, alone, that an English deputy tried his ancestor, the lord of the county, by a jury of *English* common soldiers, and instantly hanged him

him at his own castle gate, as Baker relates, in his Chronicle, p. 378; and *will they forget* that his great landed property was divided among four persons, *three of whom were Irish septs, and perhaps his neighbours, kinsmen, or allies—?*—Or what regulation can take place *between the heirs* of Hugh O'Neal and Mac Guire? or between the heirs of Lord Clanrickard and those *Irish persons of quality*, who, after the battle, in cold blood, he executed in camp—?—

Or in brief, why did not James the Second's parliamentary committee, in 1689, *travel up to these reigns* with the investigation of their Court of Claims—?—and why did they stop at 48 years? The reason is obvious: they found insuperable bars which rendered all investigation nugatory: They found it would give rise to *unceasing intestine division* among themselves: they found that *possession for a century* had too steadily rooted the occupiers of the day, for them ever to be shaken by parliamentary enquiry: and that the lapse of one hundred years had even defeated all investigation, who the real usurpers were, or where they were to be found, amid the change, alienation, violence, or purchase of mingled friends and adversaries—and *such as were* the reigns of James, and Charles I. to our *Catholic ancestors, are now become* to the Catholics of the present day, the forfeitures of King William, and his statute of assumption of lands, in 1692.—

Our Catholic ancestors, in 1689, when under the influence of *violent antipathy* against their Protestant foes, *found upon an investigation* so solemn as a parliamentary inquest, *that they could carry up their enquiry no higher than 48 years:*

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Now, our Catholic brethren *of the present day*, supposing them in parliament, as I hope to see them before the close of the present century, CANNOT INSTITUTE ANY ENQUIRY AT ALL, unless they *travel back one hundred and five years*; for within that period there have been no forfeitures: and this superlatively hostile measure, which *their ancestors* relinquished, when *in arms*, and *aided by a foreign force*, they are *now* to undertake, when *cemented* with us in *friendship*, and under *obligations* to us for *liberty*;—which is to say, that in the bosom of *peace, cordiality, and mutual interest*, in a situation of *quiet, of enrichment, and of general confidence*, THE CATHOLICKS, restored from political dissolution to the life of liberty, and to the elevation of freemen, are to hazard their happiness, and to stain their reputation by a distracted enthusiasm of grasping at that which, one hundred years ago, their ancestors, in prosperity, deemed to be chimerical; and, under the sanction and sunshine of their monarch's presence, rejected, as an enterprize utterly unattainable.—I fear it not—and I *believe*, that the Catholicks of the present day, are, like myself, living in the termination of the eighteenth century, and not at the *commencement* of sixteen hundred, the date of the existence, of families, enumerated in this *mutilated, chronological fragment*.—

And here a corollary irresistibly obtrudes itself, as growing out of the matter which I have already related—"That the *leading maxim* of British policy has ever been—to govern Ireland by *intestine division*: And that in consequence of tyranny, so treacherous, and so sanguinary, we can be little astonished at *any deed* however extravagant, or any massacre however enormous, to
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which this persecuted nation should have had recourse to in their despair!—Hunted like brute animals over their native plains, and fomented against each other by the governors of the island, who, awaking and nourishing every malignant passion, stimulated them to bathe in the carnage of each other; thus performing the office of *the great enemy of man*, instead of discharging the high commission of supreme and impartial administrators of justice! Who of us can wonder, or who will venture to *disapprove*, had the natives of the country sworn unceasing enmity against the British name; and deluged the island in the blood of their oppressors!

But let it be supposed, that *with Cromwell*, finally, an inquisition of this nature is a second time to commence—in what situation are, *then*, to be placed, or under what class of usurpers are *then* to be arranged, the *present Catholics*, who now occupy *more than the half of the province of Conaught, and almost all Clare*;—where their miserable ancestors were compelled to retire, when they were driven out of *Munster* by the implacable Ludlow?—To what body of Catholics is that extensive territory now to be adjudged? What is become of those terrifying Catholic natives of Conaught, resident there a hundred years before, as specified in the map? They must have been all turned out: for those unfortunate, intruding *exiles from Munster*, dispossessed the natives of Conaught of an immense division of country, to which territory the *title of their children or representatives, at this moment*, is at least of *as modern a date*, as that of the *debenturers* can possibly be to theirs—*Where is the foundation here of an adjustment of property among the representatives of these discordant Irish-*
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men? Between the heirs of those *Catholicks*, who were driven forcibly by Ludlow into Conaught and Clare, and of the *Catholicks* who were *dispossessed* by these involuntary *usurpers*?—"By a proclamation of Cromwell and his Council, printed at Dublin, by William Bladon, in 1654, they were commanded to transplant themselves," says Walth's Reply, p. 33, "before the 1st of May next ensuing, into the province of Conaught, and county of Clare, *according to former declarations*; and this *upon the highest penalties*:—the rigorous execution of this proclamation did manifest itself in the long imprisonment of some, the exporting others to Barbadoes, and in the death of Mr. Hethrington in the market-place of Dublin, for not obeying it, as the paper affixed on his breast when he was executed, did express the *cause* of his taking off."—And my Lord Clarendon writes, Vol. II. p. 116, that "Cromwell and his council, in Munster, finding the utter extirpation of the nation, which they had intended, to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it *somewhat of horror*, that made an impression upon the most stony hearts, after *so many thousands destroyed* by the sword, fire, famine, and the plague, and after *so many thousands transported into foreign parts*, found out the following expedient of *transplantation*.—There was a large tract of land, even *to the half of the province* of Conaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and large river, and which by the plague, and MANY MASSACRES, remained almost desolate:—Into this space and circuit of lands, they required *all the Irish*, (whom Cromwell, says Dr. Leland, Vol. III. p. 409, *had declared innocent of the rebellion*) to retire by a certain day, *under penalty of death*; and all who should be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child,

child, might be killed by any body who saw, or met them."—" Yet even these unhappy gentlemen, says Carte, Vol. II. p. 216, who were thus violently driven from their own fair estates, *into Conaught and Clare*, were all declared by the Council innocent of the rebellion, after a most rigorous inquisition."—Notwithstanding which, " in this deplorable condition, says Clarendon, p. 118, they found themselves obliged to submit to the hardest conditions of their conquerors; and after signing conveyances and releases of their lands, which they had left, to go and enjoy LANDS WHICH BELONGED TO OTHER MEN."

Observe, "*lands which belonged to other men.*"—The adjustment of territory, therefore, in Conaught and Munster, (in consequence of this dreaded parliamentary enquiry after ancient proprietors) will be as whimsical, as it will be subtle and complicated.—*Catholicks* must drive *Catholicks* back again out of Conaught into Munster, whose ancestors, one hundred and fifty years before had crossed the Shannon, " to seize and enjoy lands which belonged to other men : " —and these *Catholicks* thus ejected, are to assault Munster and dispossess the *debenturers* of Cromwell; to whom one hundred and fifty years before, their ancestors " had perfected deeds of conveyance and releases of their lands : " *which deeds of conveyance*, not forty years after, were construed and conceived to be *so valid*, by James the II^d's wise and illustrious parliament, as to induce the Court of Claims " to resolve that compensation should be made for their value."

But the *final reply* to this *imaginary apprehension*, is obvious and exclusive.—*Possession* and *opulence*,

lence ; create, and continue power ; and these, out of all competition, the present Protestant occupiers enjoy.—Union of all, alone can render the Catholicks strong ; and a hint of forfeiture cuts asunder the bonds.—The union of this island cannot remove Great-Britain a furlong from our shores ; and a desperate appeal to her, by either Irish party, demolishes at once the project of forfeiture, and THE STRUCTURE WHICH LIBERTY RAISES TO PEACE, erected by the united operations of both.

Nor will the *body* of either party, Protestant or Catholic, upon a happy junction in a future senate, entertain any exclusive, or too extravagant golden dreams—MUTUAL INTEREST, the *sole bond of union among a people*, will govern the councils, and direct the measures of that *novel, cautious, and quick-sighted assembly*.—External commerce, domestic manufacture, tillage, navigation, and revenue ; equal protection for the mode of worship of every Irishman, and unshackled regulations for the education of their offspring ; these will be the subjects which will arrest the deliberations of both Houses of the Legislature ; and into which will they rush like a torrent with *then* unfettered hands. The *undue* British influence having *then* declined to its termination ;—dreamers about ancient possessions, like fifth monarchy-men in the Usurpation, *may* arise in the Assembly, but they will be subdued into silence, by a general, and a deterring forbiddal : Protestant Sacheverels will express apprehensions for the church, and its possessions ; and, like him, be silenced into oblivion, never to be heard of more ; desperate declaimers may propose hostilities

lities with England ; and an address of perpetual union and amity will be the reply.

In urging the repeal of statutes of penalty and disqualification, we do not seek to introduce *novelty* or *innovators* upon the constitution, but to repeal the innovations of 1680, and 1703 ; and to *restore* to the Catholics their *long accustomed rights* !

We do not seek to alter the monarchical form of our government, and to erect a republic upon its ruins—we seek for justice to our countrymen !—

We do not seek to pillage, or to humiliate the Protestant clergy, and to substitute another clerical order in their room—we seek for justice to our countrymen !—

We seek to renovate three millions of Irish, who now compose an inert and inactive mass, into one vigorous body of active citizens, endued with intelligence, and useful to the state !

Conquest is neither our object, nor our interest ;—we have a rich country—an able peasantry—are poor, but are out of debt ;—we lust not for dominion—we are subduing no native princes in the provinces of India ; alas, that game was once played too fatally against ourselves at home ! Nor are we supporting, in any corner of the whole earth, an usurped authority, in blood ;—we are oppressed men upon our native island, more sinned against, than sinning !—We ask but for our own—to be free in the land which gave us birth—to earn our property with the labour of our bodies ;—when earned,

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to have *a surety* that it is *our own*—and to have a *vote* in its disposal, when a portion of it may be necessary to the exigencies of the state.

What man will speak to me touching these points ; or maintain that they are factious, unreasonable, or wicked ?—then what are they, who reply—“ It shall not be.”—

“ *But the Catholic peasantry are barbarians, and uncivilized,*” says some *accomplished* lawyer, just got into the House, and finished, from his travels—through the lanes of London—

If they be barbarians, they are virtuous !—hardened into *men*, by difficulties and labour : not civilized into softness, nor refined into profligacy ; nor have they *yet* learned to idolize commerce as *a God*, at whose shrine is to be sacrificed *both liberty, and manhood* ; like too many Protestants of these *sister islands*.

Had the Roman plebeians resembled our Catholics, at the pitiable assassination of the amiable but guilty Cæsar, Rome had proved herself capable of liberty, and her *unvitiating peasants would have asserted a constitution* !—There is stuff to work upon in simple barbarism, there is none in refinement, corruption, and effeminacy.

To the good sense of these barbarians, their dispositions, and their docility, authorities are not wanting at a *much earlier period than to-day* : When *Sir John Davis* was Attorney General to James I. a great authority, and *not their friend*, he thus concludes one of his divisions. [Davis’s Ireland, p. 121. Dub. Edit.] “ When these six forfeited shires were to be disposed of, and planted, his Majesty did not exclude *the natives* from this
plantation

plantation, as *the Irish were accustomed to be excluded out of the first English colonies*; but he made a mixt plantation of English and Irish, *that they might grow up into one nation*, and this truly is the master-piece of that work of reformation, so worthy of his majesty's royal pains; for when this plantation has taken root, it will secure the peace of Ireland, and make it a civil, a mighty, a rich, and a flourishing kingdom: the clock of the civil government is now well set, and all the wheels thereof do move in order; the strings of this Irish harp, which the civil magistrate doth finger, are now in tune; for the whole island from sea to sea, hath been brought into his highnesses peaceable possession: In which condition of subjects, *the Irish will gladly continue without defection, as long as they may be protected, and justly governed, without oppression on the one hand, or impunity on the other---For there is no nation of people under the sun, that doth love equal, and indifferent justice better than the Irish; or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, altho' it be against themselves; so as they may have the protection and benefit of the law---*“ I do affirm, continues Davis, page 116, that for the space of five years last past, there have not been found so many malefactors worthy of death *in all this realm of Ireland*, which is now divided into thirty-six shires at large, as in one circuit of six shires in England---for the truth is, that in time of peace, *the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any other nation whatsoever---*”

And happy had it, indeed, been for this island, had this masterpiece of James 1st's work of reformation, as Sir John Davis justly denominates it, been followed up, and adopted by his successors, and their ministers; this wise Attorney General
approves

approves of an *indiscriminate plantation of English and Irish*, THAT THEY MAY GROW UP INTO ONE PEOPLE! He never dreamt of *prohibiting marriages*, by statute; of *disarming one portion of the subjects of the land*, that they might be *assaulted, and preyed upon by the other*; of the *hideous and unheard of atrocity, and persecution of raising up the child against the parent, and sowing discord among brethren*, by authority of the legislature; of making it penal, and a forfeiture, to *travel abroad for education*; and making it equally penal for *their being instructed at home*—such statutes were left to succeeding administrations, *whose objects were division, and subjugation*; and whose measures succeeded to the very extremity of their desires: and too prophetic was Davis, in his concluding words; for, *gladly did they continue without defection, as long as they were protected, and justly governed, without oppression on one side, or impunity on the other*:—But fatally for the general welfare of Ireland, in the conclusion of *that reign*, in the succeeding, and ever since, till 1779, they became *unprotected, unjustly governed, oppressed without redress, and with impunity plundered, murdered, and exterminated*; till *persecuted to desperation, they returned rancour for rancour, blood for blood*; and in vengeance of *four massacres*, they boldly plunged into one daring and dreadful attempt—to sweep the name of Briton from their long assaulted shores; deluged in carnage by that tyrannical people, for a cruel series of four hundred years.—

How grateful were this *calumniated people* for even common justice, extended to them by the English deputies, Dr. Leland relates, p. 311, “When Sir John Perrot was recalled by Queen Elizabeth, he delivered the sword to Sir William Fitzwilliams, declaring that he left the kingdom

in peace; and he embarked with the acclamations of the lower order of the people, who felt the benefits of his administration; old Tirlagh O'Nyal of Tirowen, followed him to the water-edge, bathed in tears.—”

And what is one of the greatest bigots against the native Irish, on account of their religion, but a man of ability, *compelled* to acknowledge of them?—“A more kind, affable, obliging-humoured people,” says Richard Lawrence, in his *Interests of Ireland*, 1680, page 162, “are not to be conversed with, than the generality of the *Irish* who have been educated among the English, or otherwise well bred: For they are *shrewd*, and capable of the highest improvements in all the liberal sciences, and ingenious arts.”—In the same very curious treatise, page 98, Mr. Lawrence is also so favorable to the *Irish soil*, as to say: “I have now shown at large how an English breed, for this country's defence, *would much increase on Irish ground*; ten of whom are worth *twenty*, bred and brought up in England.” But I do not insinuate, that he recommended they should have *Irish* fathers; though his words would bear that construction.

The truth is, that although the Protestants have now, for near two centuries, made a bustle about conscience, reason, and the gospel, at bottom they have had no more dependance upon *these*, than upon miracles and infallibility; but have placed their sole reliance upon *the preaching of lawyers and the mission of informers*. Nor were the penal laws intended at their formation, to produce converts: It was not Popery which was hated, but the *Papist*; *division* was the object, *reformation* was the pretext. From their construction

tion, they appear to serve as *ramparts* to a *wealthy town*, where *no Roman Catholic* shall enter at the gate, lest too many should crowd in at once: so one by one, they are compelled to wade through dirt and shame, in order to arrive at the appointed narrow passage, exposed to the hisses of those who are *without*, and to the scorn and suspicion of those who are *within*.

But experience ought to have instructed *Protestants*, who themselves had wrestled with persecution, that religious principles are of too stubborn a nature to be removed by punishments of a *limited duration*. The opinion of an immortal recompence, or an immortal misery, must for ever preclude all *human* considerations: But *political notions*, admitting bad ones to have had existence, are easily to be weakened by kindness, and to be altered by *encouragements*. An opposition of *interests*, not of *creeds*, has, hitherto, been the *cause* of *division* among Irishmen: Let *clashing* advantages be brought to *coincide*; remove a *pernicious system* of legislation; *division ceases*, and the *cause* and the *complaint* disappear together.

Religious penalties, and *penal exclusions*, operate only to stupify, to make Lutheranism hated, and the reforming person a hypocrite. The political guilt of a nation lies at the door of *those who govern by such a system*:—A tyrant, who rules without a parliament, sustains the whole iniquity himself: But a senate, and a free people, who originate, or who adopt such statutes, *divide the heavy guilt among them*; and every Protestant individual of you, who does not protest against *your brother's chains*, is, in the eyes of God, and of the civilized world, *accessary to the enormity*,

in proportion to the degree of intelligence he is naturally endowed with, and of the influence he may be possessed of, to diminish *the distraction and the anguish of his brother.*

And sure a sorer evil exists not upon earth, than the situation of the peasantry of this devoted island;—contemplating the penury which fetters them to the earth, and the fertility of the country in which they are *doomed to calamity*;—contemplating the *vassalage* under which they crouch, and the *sturdy yeomanry* which *to-day* they ought to have been.

They are *to-day* the most wretched people under the sun; for they are *surrounded with a plenteousness*, which they never are to *taste*; and they *behold comforts* which they are never to *experience*:—Harvest comes, and the *more favoured* bullock falls in the slaughter-house, *but not for them!* and they sometimes hear of the *food and raiment* of the manufacturer of the barren North, and they curse it in *the bitterness of their misery*:—Famine, nakedness, and overstrained labour, stupifies each faculty of their body, and of their mind—smoke, filth, and winds, fill their habitations, where a few potatoes are their exclusive food—reduced to the condition of reptiles, they and their children crawl in dirt, and are, like reptiles, loathsome—and some of this I have myself beheld; yet these men pay *your* clergy, while the gentry contribute nothing! Even their wretched potatoes are decimated, for a priesthood whom they never hear—while a cruel vote of agistment covers the pastures of their landlord!

Where

Where were the unrivalled talents of the South, to have beheld these abuses, and to have tolerated them for fifty years? Where was *Malone*, and *Fitzgibbon*, and *Burgh*, and *Daly*, and *Flood*, these monuments of national ability, the pledges and memorials of Irish intellect—?—*I feel no diminution of independence in hallowing the dead; the charnel-house of kings has but an empty treasury*—Why did departed greatness suffer these things?—FROM HABIT! that strangler in the birth of originality and amendment!—They were born in a Province where *man* was already reduced to this degradation; their infant eyes were accustomed to the sad spectacle; and minds which were prone to melt at imaginary woe, did not shrink at the contemplation of these domestic enormities.—Let *us* not be enthralled by *habit*: Let *us* inquire if these things exist; and afford our virtuous efforts to arrest the dæmon of misery upon his errand.—And where is that ONE MAN, that *living* oracle, whom *all* confide in, and revere? who is of himself *competent to the MINISTRY OF MERCY*! Let HIM, who *could* restore a constitution, bend over the miseries of man, over the *orphans* of the state—the *defrauded heirs of that constitution*; let HIM stoop to the peasants, and they shall *arise* to the consolation of industry, and *assume* their independent subordination in the state.

We toast Cromwell, and king William, and Washington, and Fayette; and we ransack the living world, and the mighty dead, and corruscate from Europe to America for honourable stimulus to our passion for fame and public virtue;—but we think not of home—we forget our native island—we do not recollect the illustrious
toast,

toast—Our own neglected and capable—two MILLIONS,—loyal, and oppressed Irishmen !

We forget that Cromwell and William were inimical to Ireland, severe and haughty conquerors—And we forget that Washington and Fayette would hoot us from their shores, and would say—“ Begone, ye tyrants!—Be *just* at *home*, before you dare to profane the haunts of freedom, the territory of France and America, with your inconsistent salutation,—with your polluting praise :” And the great French republic will cry, with a repelling voice—“ We seek not the association of tyrants, and we reject your proffered approbation—Ye shallow politicians, degrade *us* not with your impotent addresses ; till you restore to their birth-right, your own countrymen, OUR CATHOLIC BRETHREN !”

It was the frequent, and cutting reply of the Marquis of Pombal, to remonstrances of conceited and meddling Protestants at the Portuguese court, “ Sir, the sufferings of a British Protestant persecutor, when laid by the heels here, is to me a source, if not of christian, at least of retaliating satisfaction—The penal laws of Ireland *sanction* our Inquisition—!”

But no *relaxation* of that code, *short* of the extension of the right of suffrage, will operate to the relief of the Catholic peasantry : Nothing under *that*—will *float him up to the level of his Protestant neighbour*—In all competitions, *without that right*, he must else *sink into inferiority*, and continue a *victim to oppression*.

Of what avail will it be to the farmer of Tipperary, and the manufacturer of Cunnemarah, that
a channel

a channel is opened to the bar, and the army, for the provision of younger children of a few opulent families?—How will *that* extend liberty to the *working portion* of the community?—What encouragement can *that* hold out to the *growing industry* of the southern provinces?—If that description of men be not emancipated,---the moment he learns his craft, he will emigrate to France, or America---He will only remain in Ireland while he continues ignorant, useless, and a burthen—It is the *peculiar nature* of manufacturers to be FREE; their *hands* inculcate independence to their minds; they soon *feel* that their craft will afford them maintenance every where; and they will roam to those countries, where, without an imposition of perjury and hypocrisy, *industry* conducs to *influence* and *precedence*: for these passions operate just as powerfully in a village and country town, as at a court, or among the most vain, and ambitious of their landlords.

I know, and have studied manufacturers, and am not lightly to be replied to by gentlemen of other provinces, or those of my own, who have never made themselves acquainted with that description of men, whose youth is spent in fox-hunting, and in the avocations of the feudal times; to whom enclosures, bleach-greens, plantations, and ditches, are but as cobwebs to their beagles, and to their coursers: I speak to men who are desirous of manufacturers, who wish to civilize their tenantry, to enlarge their rent-roll, and to increase the citizens of the island.

The inclination for manufactures in the South, has swelled almost into an enthusiastic passion,
and

and why do they not *succeed*? Why do not the northern manufacturers *emigrate to Munster* rather than brave the Atlantic? Because the *people are not FREE, and not regarded*: Because a northern weaver will brook difficulties and poverty rather than disrespect: *Because ye have not yet learned the deference due to an industrious, proud, poor man.* And because a clumsy-fingered *slave* is incapable of any thing, but to handle a turf-sley, or to pouter with a spade for scanty food, in that portion of earth which he is not rich enough to plough.

The more *industrious* a manufacturer is, the *prouder* he will become; and the more oppressed, he will be the more *sturdy*: a Northern manufacturer and an English yeoman commit that sort of resistance ten times in a year, for which *papists* are hung: But that *pride*, and that *resistance*, if extended to the south, *would create, and preserve an impregnable wall against their country's enemies*; and that *sturdy rudeness* might easily be smiled at, and tolerated *by their landlords*, which can alone create *for them*, an important weight in the scale of Europe.

With regard to these, our dejected countrymen preferring a respectful application to the Legislature for an alleviation of their sufferings, if not for a frank restoration of their rights, a measure which must be so exceedingly consonant to the ideas of liberty of their Protestant friends, I acknowledge I cannot perceive how it can be attended with any additional ills to them:—Denunciations of wrath, or refinements of cruelty cannot *now* await the *constitutional efforts* of intelligent Catholics, for the recovery of their *defrauded liberties*: Their condition cannot *now* be made worse, because they have presumed to

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wish

wish that it were better : They cannot now be sentenced to the *wheel*, because they have ventured to complain of the *torture*—It could not *now* produce new penal statutes, the *genius of the times* would not afford *safe warranty*—

It would be an *unwise stretch of prerogative* to *close up the avenues of communication* between *government* and the *people* ; or to *punish subjects* for giving utterance to the *bitter feelings of their minds*.—It will be ever both just and political, to leave with the people an organ by which they can speak their voice—The right of the subject to petition, and the freedom of the press, while they ensure our persons and properties, secure, also, our obedience—These grand conservatories of liberty afford a vent for the malignant humours of a nation ; and dissipate the fever which agitates society, when *unnatural restraints* distemper the human mind—*No period* can be *improper* for soliciting a boon which is to extinguish all jealousies, party prejudices, and feuds ; moulding the people into one common mass, through the medium of one common interest.

A *calm, liberal, and manly*, appeal to a philosophic and unprejudiced parliament of 1792. The *peaceable supplication* of a subscribing few, presented amid a crowded senate of the assembled Protestant powers of the realm, without pageantry of circumstance, and *unattended by the awful magnificence of associated MILLIONS*, might experience a parental reception equal to their fondest filial hopes : And it would bring home conviction to their Protestant allies, that a political soul *has* an existence in, and does diffuse an energy through the Catholick body ; —a circum-

—a circumstance which sometimes Ulster is disposed to doubt.

In you, Gentlemen, I contemplate an association, of whom I am proud, as a native of Ulster; but as an *Irishman*, I behold you with gratitude and veneration, the friends of human kind, *bursting the shackles which fetter your countrymen !—* I behold you hailing and encouraging the *genius of the Catholic religion*, which is now, through Europe, dispelling the gloom of oppression and persecution; which has already erected in France, and Poland, temples to liberty, to social order, and to general charity; *opening the avenues of fame and fortune to every professor of the christian name*; imparting to vassals the blessings of a constitution; and *relinquishing to this island*, the ignominious distinction of being the fosterer of intolerance, and the *pitiless parent* of unoffending and submissive children.

Proceed, enlightened men, to discharge your duty to your *countrymen*, and to the human race ! *Extend* the magnanimous sentiment of exalting a depressed and a degraded people, into civic utility and legislative vigour—*You can* speak boldly; and with Magna Charta in one hand, and the roll of your good freehold tenure in the other, *you can* tell all administrations, all parliaments, and all bigots, “ *they rule but by the will of the free subjects of the realm* ”——But *what roll remains* to truncheon the *Catholic* to liberty !—?——midnight executions; the sword concealed in the social bowl; and the sanguinary statute, and the warrant of death, to sweep away what *war*, and *robbery* had overlooked ! !——It is related by Mr. Morriſon, in his history of Ireland, page 9,

an authority never controverted, that in “ the 19th of Elizabeth, 1577, the Lords of Conaught, and the chieftain O’Rourke, made with Sir Nicholas Malby, her majesty’s governor, a *composition for their lands*; wherein they were content to yield to the Queen so large a rent, and such services of labourers to work at fortifications, and of horse and foot to serve her in the wars, as shewed they were not yet alienated from their wonted awe, and reverence for the crown of England” — *But what followed upon this submission? shall I write it?—*It is the relation of the illustrious, because virtuous and philosophic, Colonel Lee, who was sent specially into Ireland by Elizabeth herself, to report to her majesty the real state of affairs, and the *misconduct of her governors*—[Lee’s memorial-manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin] “ That on Tuesday, 1577 (the same year of the composition with Malby,) the English published a proclamation *inviting* the Lords of Conaught and all the *well affected Irish*, who kept the peace, who had sued for protection, and who held no correspondence with those of their kindred, who still stood out in arms against the English government, *to an interview on the Rathmore, at Mulloghmaston, engaging at the same time for their security, and that no evil was intended*—In consequence of this engagement the *well-affected* came to the Rathmore afore-said; *but soon after they were assembled, they found themselves surrounded by four lines of English and Irish horse and foot, compleatly accoutred; by whom they were immediately closed upon, and cut to pieces: and not one man escaped!*—” “ Thus,” [Colonel Lee, the memorialist, continues,] “ Your majesty’s servants who were placed in authority to protect men for
your

your service, had drawn unto them, *by such protection, four hundred* of the Irish, under colour to serve your majesty: and brought them to a place of meeting, where your garrison soldiers were appointed to be; who there, *most dishonorably*, put them *all* to the sword---This, [adds Lee] was done by the *consent* and *practice* of the Lord Deputy---

“ About the same time,” [says the *Manuscript Chronicle* in the University of Dublin, an authority much confided in by Doctor Leland, see his *History of Ireland*, Vol. II. p. 258.] “ Walter, Earl of Essex, on the conclusion of a peace, invited Bryan O’Nial, of *Claneboys*, with a multitude of his relations, to an entertainment, where *they lived together in great harmony, making good cheer for three days and nights*; when on a sudden, O’Nial was surprised *with an arrest, together with his brother, and his wife, by the Earl’s order*.—His friends were put to the sword before his face; nor were the *women and children* spared: He was himself, with his brother, and *wife*, sent to *Dublin*, where *they were all three cut in quarters*. This increased the disaffection, and created the detestation of all the Irish, for this Chieftain of *Claneboys* was the senior of his family, and had been *uncommonly loved*, as he was now universally regretted.—“ The Queen, (says the Bishop of Chichester, in his *Thankful Remembrancer*, p. 48,) “ was ill pleased with the manner of this execution: and was hardly after, “ ever drawn to admit any excuse for the “ slaughter committed.”

“ When in the year 1583, [says Doctor Corry’s *Civil Wars of Ireland*, Vol. 1st. p. 11.] the garrison of *Smerwick*, in *Kerry*, surrendered upon
mercy;

mercy, to Lord Deputy Gray, he ordered seven hundred of them to be put to the sword, or hanged---Wingfield was commissioned to disarm them; and when this service was performed, an English company was marched into the fort, and the garrison was butchered in cold blood. The usual, and obvious excuses for this severity, could not efface the odiousness of it; upon the continent it was received with horror!—" And Dr. Leland, upon another occasion, speaking of this Lord Deputy Gray, says, Vol. II. page 287, " Repeated complaints were made to the Queen of the *inhuman rigour* of this *Deputy*, and his *officers*---The Queen *was assured* that he *tyrannized* with such *barbarity*, that *little was left in Ireland* for her Majesty to reign over, *but ashes, and dead carcases.*"

" In 1581, [the Theatre of Catholick Religion relates, page 579] " on the coast of Kerry, 800 men, except 11 officers, were stript of their weapons and all slain, or cast over the high cliffs into the sea, notwithstanding the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam's word and faith unto them all, for their lives, liberties, and safe conduct into Spain.---"---And Sir Richard Baker says, in his Chronicle, page 356, mentioning this massacre of the Irish in Kerry, " It was concluded that the leaders should be saved, but *all the Irish, hanged up*, which was presently put in execution, *to the great disliking of the Queen*, who detested the *slaughter of men who had yielded themselves*; and her Grace would not accept of *any excuses, or allegations.*"---This was in one of the wars with the earl of Desmond.---

" In the year 1598, [says Morrison, page 4] when Sir William Fitzwilliams was entered upon the

the government, *Ireland was not only peaceable and quiet*, but the greatest Irish Lord being called by letter or messenger, came readily to the state: But within three months after his taking the sword of government, being informed that the Spaniards lately wrecked upon the coasts of Ulster, had left with the inhabitants great store of *treasure and other riches*, he *greedily sought* to get it into his hands, *pretending the Queen's service*;—but *that* not taking effect, he made a journey himself into those parts, where, altogether, failing of his purpose, *he brought back to Dublin, prisoners, two of the best affected gentlemen to the state*, whom he deemed to possess the treasure, namely Sir Owen MacTool, father-in-law to the earl of Tyrone, and Sir John O'Dogherty.—*Sir Owen had been considered so faithful to the Queen* as long to have enjoyed from her a pension of 200*l.* a year,—refusing now to buy his enlargement, he *continued a prisoner* till Sir William Russel came upon the government, who in pity discharged him; *but the old gentleman's heart was broken, and shortly he died.*—Sir John O'Dogherty was released after two years restraint; but not without *paying for his liberty*:—at this hard usage of these two Ulster gentlemen, all the great men of the Irish did much repine.—”—What says the oppressive puritan, Borlace, himself, in his *Reduct. of Ireland*, page 141? “*Sir William Fitzwilliams was accused of much rigour in seeking after the spoils and wrecks at sea, which happened on some of the Spanish navy being split in Ireland; and the ensuing war is laid to his charge.*”---“*The loyal Irish*, says Dr. Leland, on the imprisonment of O'Tool and O'Dogherty, *trembled for their own safety, and the disaffected were confirmed in their inveteracy*---”---“*The people of Conaught*, says Dr. Leland, page 294, *were severely governed* by Sir Richard

Richard Bingham ; the Sheriffs and other officers of authority, *followed the example of this lord president*: They entered the several counties, *attended with large bodies of armed men, pillaging the natives, whom they always affected to despise.*—”

“ In 1590, says Dr. Corry, page 18, Hugh Roe Mac Mahon, chieftain of Monaghan, *came up to the state, that he might be established in his inheritance, hoping to be cherished, and countenanced as her Majesty's patentee.* But he found *he could not be admitted at the castle of Dublin, until he promised six hundred cows,*—for such were the Irish bribes. He was afterwards *imprisoned for failing in part of his agreement*; but in a few days he was *enlarged, with a promise that the deputy, lord Fitzwilliams, would visit and settle him in his county of Monaghan*; whither the deputy took his journey shortly after, *in company with Mac Mahon*: but *at their first arrival, the unhappy gentleman was clapt into bolts, and in two days after was indighted and arraigned before a jury of common soldiers, was condemned, and executed, by being hanged at his own door*; and all his estate was confiscated from his children, parcelled out, and bestowed upon Lord Marshal Bagnal, Captain Henflower, and four persons of the old Irish sept.—” [Baker relates the transaction—Chronicle p. 378]—See the difference of times!—In these days, *the gentlemen of Ireland brought up cows, as bribes to the castle: at present*—there is a vile slander, and I don't believe a word of it, “ *That the castle is a milch cow to the gentlemen of Ireland*—”

“ The Irish, *who have once offended, [says Col. Lee, in his memorial to Elizabeth] live they never so honestly afterwards, if they grow into wealth,* are

are sure to be *cut off, by one indirect means or other* : such exemplary injustice is ministered to your Majesty's *poor subjects* there—"—

Upon the execution of Mac Mahon, [says Morrison, p. 12.] and the *jealousies thence conceived against the English*, Macguire, a Northern Lord, in 1593, began to declare himself discontented and to stand upon his defence :---He said he had given *three hundred cows to free his country from a sheriff*, yet one Willis was sent down *with a guard of one hundred men*, and leading about *some hundreds of women and boys*, all living upon the *spoils* of the county—He, and the Earl of Tyrone, now first combined themselves with O'Donnel, *to defend their honours, estates, and liberties.*"

" A great part of that unquietness of O'Donnel's county, [says Col. Lee, in his memorial to the Queen] came by Sir William Fitzwilliams placing Willis there to be sheriff, who did keep with him *three hundred of the very rascals and scum of that kingdom*, which did rob and spoil that people, ravish their wives and daughters, and *made havock of all--*"

" Young O'Donnel's cause of disaffection [says Corry] happened very early : when he was a lad of thirteen, a ship freighted with several curiosities was, by order of the Lord Deputy Sir William Russel, sent to the bay of Tyrconnel ; where the master having found O'Donnel and some of his companions, seduced them with a display of his curiosities, to *enter on board his vessel*, and privately ordered his mariners to sail back to Dublin, having got the prey they came for—O'Donnel and his companions were closely confined

confined in the castle of that city, under many wants and cruel restraints for more than seven years—At length by a desperate attempt, O'Donnel escaped, but with the loss of the life of one of his companions; and upon his arrival in Ulster, he immediately combined with the Lords of the North, being then not more than twenty years old---”---

“ The manner of usage of O'Donnel, [says Lee to the Queen—Desid. Hiber. vol. I. p. 96.] was most dishonorable, and discommendable; and neither allowable before God or man---For he being young, and being taken by this stratagem, having never offended, was imprisoned with great severity, many irons laid upon him, as if he had been a notable traitor and malefactor, and kept still among those who were ever notorious traitors to your Majesty---”

Two instances more, and I shall quit the disagreeable topic : but if any bigot cavils, I pledge myself to present him with one hundred :---

“ The Countess of Desmond, to prevent her husband being declared a traitor upon mere suspicion, delivered up to the Lord Justice, Sir William Drury, at Limerick, her only son, the bishop of Mayo, and O'Rourke, a nobleman, as pledges of the Earl's loyalty, but it was determined by the council to proclaim him a traitor; his son, tho' an infant, was sent to London, and committed to the Tower, where he remained many years : and the bishop, and O'Rourke were both *executed* by Drury's express order---” [Bishop of Chichester's Thankful Remembrancer—and Abbe Geoghegan's Hist. Ireland, vol. III. p. 434].

Spencer's

Spencer's description of the calamities brought upon the people of Munster, by this war, is really shocking!—"Notwithstanding, [he relates p. 158.] that it was a rich and a plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, yet ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would rue the same---Out of every corner of the woods, and glynns, they came, creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soon after; and if they found a brook of watercresses, or shamrocks, there they flocked, as to a feast, for a time, yet afraid to continue there withal. That in a short space, there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly left void of man, and animals——."

"The Earl of Desmond, [says Morrison] having sheltered in the woods, was found by Kelly of Moriesta, lying in a hut, deserted by all his friends—Kelly entering the cottage, found all men fled, but one person of venerable aspect, stretched languidly before a fire--as he assailed him, he raised his hand to ward the blow, which the barbarian cut off; the wounded gentleman then exclaimed, "Spare me, for I am the Earl of Desmond; but he immediately smote off his head, and brought it to the Lord Deputy, by whom it was conveyed to the Queen, and impaled on London bridge.——" The Earl, as they say, was betrayed by his own followers; wherein the Ulster men did challenge an honour of faithfulness to their Lords above those of Munster: because in the following cruel wars against Tyrowen,
none

none of them could be induced, by fear, or reward, to lay hands upon their revered O'Nial—" Hist. Ireland, fol. 4.—

Thus did the ministers of Elizabeth conduct themselves towards a native people, whom they were set over—to protect; and towards the end of her reign, that destruction which the sword had left unfinished, was purposely and industriously completed by a *famine*.—Mr. Morrison mentions *this mode* of ending the war, with a seeming complacency, at least without dislike—" I have often, says he, p. 272, made mention formerly of our *destroying the corn of the Irish, and using all means to famish them*, let me now by two or three examples, show the miserable estate to which they were thereby reduced—Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Morrison, and myself, did see a most horrid spectacle of three children, whereof the eldest was not above ten years old, feeding upon the flesh of their dead mother, with circumstances too shocking to be noted: and thus the common sort are driven to unspeakable extremities, beyond the records of any histories—for no spectacle is more frequent about the Newry, and in the ditches of other towns, especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these people dead, with their mouths all coloured green, by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up, above ground—"——In a following chapter, p. 282, he adds " The Lord Deputy and council in a letter to the Queen, have expressed that they will receive to submission two of their chiefs, partly for the good of the service, and partly out of human commiseration; having with our own eyes, say they, seen the lamentable state of the country, where we find every where men
dead

dead of famine—and we are credibly informed, that in the space of a few months, *there are above three thousand starved* in Tyrone—”

I have thus fatigued you and myself, tho' with a very limited selection of these instances of injustice, the remembrance of which deeds, and the apparition of former murderous oppression, the black catalogue of penal laws *at present* existing, and the apprehension of fresh violence, might, *no wonder indeed!* even now deter, and dishearten our Catholic brethren: But let it be *your* part to think, and to atchieve for *them*, and for *yourselves*: still continue stedfast in the good, and glorious work: relax not in calling forward a distressed and a degraded race—into civil utility, and legislative vigour—

Admit of but a few more quotations, and I will conclude a detail of wrongs with which you must be already disgusted: but on this subject quotations are arguments; for *history* is—philosophy teaching by example:—

The almost *unremitting persecution of the Roman Catholic profession of faith*, from the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. *is conspicuous, and highly odious, and abominable*—In the latter reign, Chief Justice Coke maintained publicly, at the trial of Mr. Turner, that *popery* was one of the seven deadly sins: and even Lord Chancellor Bacon, then Attorney General, upon the same occasion observed, that poisoning was a popish trick—Mr. Hume relates upon the authority of Stowe, that when James arrived at Newcastle in his progress to London, he gave liberty to all prisoners at that time in confinement, except those impeached of *treason, murder, and papistry*—

In

In the eleventh year of this king's reign, Granger's Biography acquaints us, vol. I. p. 356, that " Doctor John Boys, dean of Canterbury, gained great applause *by turning the Lord's prayer* into the following *execration*, when he preached at Paul's Cross, on the fifth of November—" Our pope which art in Rome, " cursed be thy name, perish thy kingdom, hindered may thy will be, as it is in heaven, so " in earth. Give us this day our cup in the " Lord's supper, and remit our moneys, which " we have given for thy indulgences, as we " send them back unto thee, and lead us not " into heresy, but free us from misery; for thine " is the infernal pitch and sulphur, for ever, " and ever, Amen—" And such was the then existing malignity against Roman Catholics, that this profane and ridiculous travesty was celebrated, as a performance of singular merit, in a dignified Protestant divine.

With such authorities for rancour, and persecution in England, its operation in this island was extreme: and its effects upon the *native Irish* was grievous, and intolerable; because it suggested an additional stimulus to the deeply rooted antipathy of the English against them—" At the beginning of this reign, the Rev. Mr. Hewson, an English Clergyman of Swords, fell violently upon a person named Horish, a resident of the town, and took from him a crucifix, which he hung upon a gallows, with these words upon a paper beneath it, " Help all strangers, for the God of the papists is in danger!" Horish went to Dublin, and complained at the Castle, of the assault, and carried with him his defaced and broken crucifix; but Sir Geoffry Fenton, the secretary of state, snatched the crucifix from him,

him, cast it on the ground, and trod upon it, and committed *Horish* to prison for six weeks." [Theatre of Religion, p. 117.] "The same Sir Geoffry Fenton set a man in the pillory at Patrick's Church, and hung a picture of Jesus Christ about his neck; because the fellow was convicted of having carried it, a little time before at the funeral of a dead friend---" [Ibid. p. 119.]

But these were only summer amusements, and flights of fancy of the secretary of that day.---*Horish* was a silly fellow; if he had quietly submitted to the hanging and quartering of his crucifix, he would have escaped incarceration: and the zeal which dictated the putting a picture in the pillory, was soon to exhibit itself in more momentous, temporal considerations---

"At the accession of king James, he ordered a proclamation to be published, strictly forbidding the exercise of their religion to his Catholic subjects of Ireland; banishing their clergy, and inflicting severe penalties on all who should be found to harbour, or entertain them: and he enjoined the *strict execution* of a statute, pretended to have been passed in the second year of Elizabeth, in the Irish parliament, *forty years before*, though it was then for the *first time* solemnly published---By this act, all Catholics are obliged to assist at the *Protestant church service* every Sunday and holiday, on the penalty of twelve-pence; and, of what was infinitely grievous, the censures of the ecclesiastical courts for each default---The Irish, says Doctor Heylin, were obliged under severe penalties to be present at the reading of the English Liturgy, which they understood no more than they did the Mass, by which they were kept in continual ignorance of the

the doctrines and devotions of the established church: and were furnished with an argument against the reformers, for having the divine service celebrated in a language which the people did not understand.—There was another extreme tyranny in this statute, which enacted, that Roman Catholics of condition, under the title of inquisitors, should be particularly appointed by the state, *to watch and inform against those of their own communion*, who did not frequent the Protestant churches upon their appointed days: which, when they neglected, or refused to do, *they were grievously fined, and condemned to a long, and irksome imprisonment.*" [Corry's History, Vol. I. p. 74.]

" In the government of Sir Arthur Chichester, James 1st. sent instructions to the state, for administering the oath of supremacy to the Catholic Lawyers and justices of the peace; and for putting in *strict execution* the laws against Papists.—Harris's History of Dublin relates, that of sixteen aldermen and citizens of Dublin, summoned before the privy council for popery, nine were censured in the star chamber, and six of the aldermen were fined each in one hundred pounds; and the remaining three, in fifty pounds each—and they were all committed prisoners to the castle:—On this occasion, all the old English Catholic families of the pale, took the alarm, and boldly remonstrated against the severity of these proceedings—They denied the legality of the sentence; and said the penalties levied were unconstitutional: but though their petition was presented to the privy council, attended by an immense concourse of people, the petitioners were instantly committed to prison in the Castle of Dublin, and Sir Patrick Barnwall, their agent, *was trans-*
mitted

mitted in custody into England." Corry's History, p. 76.

You will observe, here, gentlemen, that *these infringements* upon the liberty of conscience, and liberty of person, upon the domestic, and spiritual peace of the *whole Catholick body*, was at a period when the kingdom was in profound tranquillity; after Tyrone had been in London, made his peace with James, and was returned to the North; and that for these strange, impolitic, and tyrannical severities there was no cause assigned, no *colour* of pretence suggested by the government, but the abstract, ridiculous motive, of Protestant fanaticism!—

Severe, and *unprovoked* as this treatment of the Catholic laity was, amid [according to Sir John Davis] "*the most calm, and most universal peace that was ever known in Ireland,*" the cruel usage of the clergy was still more rigorous: —To omit many instances, I shall trouble you with *the case of the Rev. Robert Lawler*, who was imprisoned, and condemned *for exercising the function of a Roman Catholic Priest*: [See Sir John Davis's Report, from p. 84 to 96.] In order to remove every suspicion of his maintaining, or teaching any seditious doctrines, Mr. Lawler made the following confession before the Lord Deputy, the privy council, and [in Davis's words] "all the principal gentlemen, both of the pale, and of the provinces, *whom the name and reputation of the man, and the nature of the cause, had drawn to the hearing of the matter—*" That "he did acknowledge his sovereign king James to be his lawful chief, and supreme governor, in causes as well ecclesiastical, as civil; and that neither the Pope, nor any
F other

other foreign prelate, or potentate, had power to controul the king in any causes ecclesiastical, or civil, within that kingdom, or in any other of his majesty's dominions—" yet this extreme condescension could not shield him from *condemnation*.

"In July 1612, Doctor Connor O'Duan, Titular Bishop of Down and Connor, was *for the same offence* committed to the Castle of Dublin, where he was confined in strict constraint for four years: at last he contrived to escape from his prison; but was immediately retaken, and hanged, drawn, and quartered on the 1st February, 1616—There suffered with him, also, Doctor Bryan Carrigan, chaplain to the Bishop, and two priests, Donoughoe Mac Reddy, and John Lune." [Theatre of Relig. p. 578.]—But the zeal of the Lords Deputies, and particularly of Sir Arthur Chichester, was so intemperate and excessive as would swell my pamphlet into a large volume, to illustrate, by *all the instances* which occur from the *written evidences* of the times: and the king and council in England often found it necessary to restrain it—[See Def. Curios. Hiber. Vol. I. throughout].

These frightful severities not having produced the *intended* effect, " a new insurrection, and consequently new forfeitures;" another expedient was adopted by Secretary Cecil, viz. " Private information of an intended conspiracy of the *Irish*, by means of an anonymous letter—" " Cecil, [says Mr. Dodd in his essay respecting Tyrone's Treasons] was *an adept* in framing fictitious plots, and has left instructions behind him to succeeding ministers, *when* and *how* to make use of them against Catholics. The *original* of these

these instructions, *in Cecil's own hand-writing*, was formerly in the possession of Lord President Bradshaw, who tried the King : by whom it was given to Sir William Percival, who died in 1697, and left it among other papers of remarks upon the times—" [Ecclesiast. Hist. Vol. III. p. 196] And the traditional account of this *forged conspiracy* of the last Earl of Tyrone, and other Catholics, which ended in *their utter destruction*, is thus detailed by Doctor Anderson, in his book entitled " Royal Genealogies," p. 786.—" Artful Cecil employed one St. Lawrence to entrap the Earl of Tyrone, and Lord Tyrconnel, Lord Delvin, and other Catholic Irish chiefs, into a sham plot, *which had no evidence* but his : But these unhappy noblemen being basely informed that witnesses were to be hired against them, foolishly fled from Dublin, and thus taking guilt upon them, they were *declared Rebels*, and six entire counties in Ulster were at once forfeited to the Crown, which was what their greedy enemies wanted——" With regard to the fate of Tyrone, Borlace relates in his " Reduction of Ireland, p. 184," " The Earl of Tyrone fled privately into Normandy, thence to Flanders, and finally to Rome ; where he became blind, existed on contributions, and expired in 1618—His son was soon after found *strangled in his bed*, and so ended his race——"

Doctor Corry acquaints us, Vol. I. p. 89. " That Knox, a Scotch puritan and Bishop of Raphoe, had informed Lord Belfast, the Deputy, that *the only sure means of extirpating Popery out of Ireland*, was by the *death, or banishment* of the *persons*, and by the *confiscation* of the properties of *Papists*——For this purpose *several new Boroughs* were created hastily in Munster and

Conaught; some, and those not a few, even and the writs had been issued.—”——And Sir John Davis says, “the new boroughs were forty—”

Now this very *principle*, and *advice* of the bishop of Raphoe to Chichester, for “*exterminating Popery out of Ireland, by the death of the persons, and the confiscation of the property of Papists,*” illustrates, of itself, the *position* which for some pages I have been endeavouring to ascertain, viz. that the professors of the Roman Catholic Faith, residing quietly upon their estates, or industriously pursuing their callings, and occupations, *have sustained a constant, rigorous, and unremitting persecution*, from the reign of Elizabeth to the year 1779—and how rapidly the kingdom has flourished *in consequence* of even the partial *relaxation of penal laws* which commenced at that period, he who runs may read:—Their fair and entire emancipation is now only wanting to convert it into the most opulent, and most happy kingdom in Europe.—For you will also observe, gentlemen, that the *very means* invented to destroy the Catholics, has turned out, by a signal intervention of Providence, the greatest curse of the *Protestants* of the kingdom at this hour, and the heavy grievance against which the Protestants themselves now exclaim.—These *rotten, close boroughs* was a trap laid by Cecil to exclude the Catholic natives of Ireland from *representation* and *protection*: and they now operate to the exclusion of the *real* representation of the Protestants themselves, as well as of their Catholic slaves.

Doctor Leland writes, vol. II. page 443, “That these new boroughs being most of them inconsiderable, and too poor to afford wages to their representatives,

representatives, must have been entirely influenced by government, and have returned only its creatures and immediate dependants: And accordingly *they were represented by attorneys' clerks, and the servants of the lord deputy*—" And the king himself was afterwards so convinced, and ashamed of this notorious violation of the constitution, that " His Majesty soon after sent instructions to the Deputy, Chichester, that the burgeses returned upon the new charters from Tallow, Lismore, Belfast, Carlow, Fethard, Augher, Charlemont, Clonakilty, Kildare, Cavan, Clogher, Athlone, and Gowran, being falsely returned, should forbear to sit in that house of parliament.—" [Desider. Curios. Hiber. vol. I. page 325.]

Yet thus pursued as the Catholicks were, for their lives and lands, they boldly ventured to present a petition to the King upon *this occasion*, in which those Papists, who are now held, in some Northern counties, as incapable of any principle of *liberty*, and incompetent to the possession of arms or freehold, dared to say to James I. in opposition to his rotten boroughs, "That the managing elections for parliament, had generally bred so grievous an apprehension, as is not in their power to express, arising from a fearful suspicion, *that the project of erecting so many corporations in places that scarcely pass the rank of the poor villages of the poorest county in Christendom*, do tend to nought else but that by the voices of a *few, selected for that purpose under the name of burgeses*, extreme penal laws should be imposed on his majesty's subjects"—[Remonstrance of the lords of the Pale—Curios. Hib. vol. I. page 160] more sound, reasonable and constitutional language never has been uttered since upon the subject

subject of parliamentary reform.—This remonstrance was carried to London by lord Fermoy, lord Killeen, lord Delvin, Sir Patrick Barnwall, and their two agents, Mr. Luttrell, and Mr. Talbot; but they were dismissed and insulted, by a quaint and evasive reply from the King, “ That as Papists, they were but half subjects, and therefore should have but half privileges. It was never before heard, [said James to these agents] that any good subjects did dispute the King’s power—what is it to you, whether I make many or few boroughs?—My council may consider the fitness, if I require it; but what if I had created forty noblemen, and four hundred boroughs?—The more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer.—[Defid. Curios. Hiber. vol. I. page 120] And he immediately committed their two agents, Mr. Talbot and Mr. Luttrell, one to the Tower and the other to the Fleet prison.—Talbot remained a long time imprisoned in the Tower, and *was compelled to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds*, [Leland’s Ireland, vol. II. page 451—and Defid. Hib. vol. I. page 321]. A *severe* punishment, and a *heavy* fine, inflicted upon Roman Catholics, *because* they attempted to vindicate the constitution!—No wonder that the Catholic body of Ireland soon after became first broken-hearted, and finally, desperate!

This new parliament, thus constituted, instantly proceeded to the enacting additional penal statutes, under the direction of Lord Deputy Chichester. It appears that at the end of the session “ Eight Roman Catholics *who had been excommunicated by the archbishop of Dublin for Popery, and imprisoned*, were released by the indulgence of Parliament; some said by the mediation of bribes, but their joy was short-lived,
and

and their release was rather an aggravation of their punishment : *for, without any other pretext* but perseverance in their religion, the Archbishop immediately excommunicated them a second time, on which they were again sent back to their *long, and loathsome confinement.*" [Analect. Sacra. page 34] But, indeed, *nothing could exceed* the tyranny, rapacity, and persecution of the Spiritual Courts at this time, exercised against the Catholics.—Bishop Burnet in his life of the excellent Dr. Bedel, bishop of Kilmore, has left us a very shocking delineation of the ecclesiastical discipline in Ireland—"These courts, says his Lordship, were managed by a Chancellor who bought his place, and so made of it all the profits he could ; and the whole business of the courts seemed to be nothing but oppression and extortion.—The solemnest and sacredest of all church censures, which is excommunication, went about in so sordid and base a manner, that all regard to it as a spiritual censure, was lost ; and it was cried out upon as an intolerable tyranny.—The officers of these courts *thought they had a right* to oppress the *natives* ; and that all was well-got that was wrung from them——" [Life of Bedel, page 37].

Imprisonments on account of popery were then so frequent, and grievous, as to even alarm the Commons, who addressed Chichester, " That his lordship would be pleased to release from prison all those who lay in it, upon account of excommunications" [Commons' Journals, Vol. I.] But Chichester, and his successor Sir Oliver St. John, were both in themselves, Protestant bigots, and had a consolation of conscience in executing the penal statutes against *popery*—Doctor Leland says, " Sir Oliver St. John seemed to be actuated with a peculiar zeal against popery,"
[Vol.

[Vol. I. p. 561.] and Curry, on the authority of Carte and the *Analeſta Sacra*, relates [Vol. I. p. 102.] “ That Sir Oliver St. John on coming over from England as Lord Deputy, did put the ſtatute of the ſecond of Elizabeth, *and all other penal ſtatutes into ſtrict execution* : for at his entering on the government, he did indeed proceed with rigour, and cauſed *preſentments* to be made of all ſuch papifts as neglected attending church, in the different parts of the kingdom. The effects of this rigour were diſmal, and extenſive ; the treaſures of the *rich* were thereby ſoon exhausted, and the *poor* not being able to pay this tax upon their conſciences, every where fled into dens and caverns, from the cruel collectors of it, *whither they were ſometimes purſued by bloodbonds*, ſet on, and followed by a ſheriff and a poſſe of diſbanded ſoldiers, equally furious, and unrelenting. Mr. Rooth, a cotemporary writer, informs us, that in the indigent county of Cavan alone, not leſs a ſum than eight thouſand pounds was levied in one year, by means of *this tax upon Catholics, for not attending church ſervice* : Excommunication, and eccleſiaſtical cenſures *on the ſame* account were ſeverely executed in every part of the kingdom. Thoſe who lay under them were conſtantly thrown into gaols, when found abroad ; and great numbers of merchants and artificers, being thus confined at home, and hindered to tranſact buſineſs publickly, and in the way of open commerce, were ſuddenly reduced to poverty and diſtreſs---Even their dead bodies did not eſcape the cruelty of theſe cenſurers ; for if they happened to die, while they lay under them, they were denied chriſtian burial, and their corſes thrown into holes dug in the highways, with every mark of ignominy, that could be deviſed,

devised, and inflicted by their cruel and bigotted judges--"

Now, gentlemen, this was in a period of profound peace ; and while the Catholics were cheerfully and unrepiningly paying heavy taxes of another description, that additional revenue *was thus extorted*, by taxing men's consciences, levying money upon their faith and their domestic comforts ; mental tranquillity, and pecuniary credit, was thus wantonly broken in upon, sported with, and desolated—

These are *facts* of persecution on the sole account of religious opinion, of which I know the Protestants are not in possession ; and it is an odious, and disgusting subject to dwell upon, or revive ; but *the detail of them accomplishes two salutary purposes* ; it exhibits throughout, the steady and uniform attachment of the Catholics *to liberty*, and a free constitution ; and it testifies that the Catholic body of Ireland were never causelessly, nor wantonly, turbulent, or cruel, but that ever since the Reformation, they have been the victims of such *religious persecution*, and *civil devastation*, as ALMOST to justify, but certainly to extenuate the dreadful, ensuing period of 1641.

While the ancient inhabitants of Ulster were stript of their possessions, for crimes which were either never committed, or were formerly pardoned, *another design* was set on foot to seize the estates of the *natives* in the *other provinces*, under *the pretext of a judicial enquiry into defective titles* ; I shall, therefore, trouble you with a brief detail of the tyranny and oppression exercised upon *the unoffending and prostrate Roman Catholic*, in the prosecution of this *English* measure, by the
Deputies

Deputies, and others in authority, sent over from England by James, and Charles I.—

This enquiry caused a general alarm through every part of the kingdom, inasmuch as no title of lineal descent, or of long possession, nor even letters patent, could secure the proprietors against the predatory attempts of those who prosecuted in *the name of the king*. The *enquiry* was rigorously pursued by Chichester—"The Star-chamber is the *proper* court to punish *jurors* who will not find for the king," says the deputy *himself* in a letter to England—[See Chichester's Answer Desiderat. Hib. Vol. I. p. 262]—And this deputy confesses, [same Volume p. 263.] "That the Justices of Assize for the space of two, or three years past, had bound over *divers juries* to the Star-chamber, for *their refusing to present papists*, upon the testimony of witnesses, that they did not attend the established church, *according to the law*, all which jurors have been *punished* in the Star-chamber, by *fine, and imprisonment*"—and he then adds, "It is true that these jurors *condemned in the Star-chamber*, had no Council allowed them."— [Desider. Hib. page 265]

As a further illustration of *the unconstitutional violence* used upon the persons and fortunes of jurors, to *extort verdicts from them* against the Catholics, I shall present you with the following *most singular passage*; whether we contemplate it as an evidence of intolerable despotism, or as coming from the quarter whence it issues—*The Report of the king's commissioners*, as given in the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, Vol. I. p. 379, has these words—"In this enquiry into defective titles, the utmost violence was used to the jurors, as was before observed by us, to oblige them

them to find a title in the king to whatever lands they pitched upon. Thus, in the year 1611, upon the seizure, by the Lord Deputy, of the County of Wexford, when upon a commission to enquire into his majesty's title to that county, *the jury offered their verdict of ignoramus to the king's title, their verdict was refused to be accepted*, and they were bound over to appear in the Exchequer Court, where five of them still refusing to find a title for the king, *they were committed to prison, and were after fined in the Star-chamber for such refusal*——” This report comes from the commissioners themselves!——

“ One would imagine, [says Corry, Vol. I. p. 106] that some cause had been given by the Catholics, or at least pretended by their enemies for such rigorous and continued severity; but nothing of that kind appears to have been the case; although, had the Irish been disposed to rise, it is certain that no people could have a more tempting opportunity, for, according to Carte, in his life of Ormond, King James never kept up a greater force in Ireland than seventeen hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse: yet he was all this time changing the properties of lands, transplanting the old inhabitants, and settling colonies of strangers——” “ In these plantations, [even Doctor Leland acknowledges, Vol. II. p. 467] the commissioners appointed to distribute lands, *scandalously abused their trusts*; and by fraud, or violence, deprived the natives of those possessions which the King had reserved for them:—There are not wanting proofs of the most iniquitous practices, of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation, employed to despoil the equitable and UNOFFENDING PROPRIETOR of his inheritance——”

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My Protestant reader will here call to mind, that all these provocations were offered to "equitable and unoffending proprietors," near *half a century* before the troubles of FORTY-ONE----

AND THE TROUBLES OF FORTY-ONE, WERE CREATED BY A CONTINUATION OF SUCH PERSECUTION, AND OPPRESSION.—We are informed by Mr. Carte, in his first Vol. p. 50, "That in the perplexity of the affairs of Charles 1st, the Roman Catholicks of Ireland OFFERED to pay constantly an army of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, for his majesty's service, provided they might be tolerated in the exercise of their religion----The toleration they desired was no more than *some respite* from the oppressions and extortions of the ecclesiastical Courts, and to have rigorous proceedings against them in these Courts, FOR RELIGION, suspended----To be released from these *exorbitant sums* which they were compelled to pay for their Christenings and Marriages: And in particular, to have the extravagant surplice-fees of the Protestant Clergy, and the unconstitutional warrants for levying them, abolished——"

Now it is very singular to learn, from the most authentic documents of the time, the *species of oppressions, and the denominations of exactions* at this time sanctioned by the ecclesiastical Courts, and *levied upon all Catholicks* by the Protestant Clergy, as complained of by the Catholicks in the above OFFER to Charles the First——

In the Irish Commons' Journals, we find a *Remonstrance to the King*, [Commons' Journals, vol. I. page 258] in which is stated "That the Judges of the Ecclesiastical courts were guilty of
barbarous

barbarous and unjust exactions, and that too, for such rights and customs as had been formerly in use with the Popish natives, but had long since been condemned, and renounced by Protestants, viz. money for holy-water, for anointing, mortuary-muttons, Mary-gallons, St. Patrick's ridges, soul-money, and the like.——And how shamefully, and oppressively the Protestant Bishops did expose their religion to sale, and to contempt, *in those Ecclesiastical courts, from whose tyranny the Catholicks were willing to purchase their redemption at so dear a rate as maintaining an army of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, is manifested by bishop Burnet, [Life of bishop Bedel]* “In these courts,” says Burnet, “bribes went about barefaced, and the exchange they made of penance for money was the worst sort of simony.—” And in the above-mentioned *Remonstrance of the House of Commons* it stands recited, “That divers complaints had been referred to them, by sundry persons from all parts of this kingdom, of the many grievous exactions, pressures and vexatious proceedings of some of the Clergy of this kingdom, and their officers and ministers, against the laity, *and especially the poorer sort*, to their great impoverishing, and the general detriment of the whole kingdom—which it was conceived by the unanimous, votes of the House, after many debates thereupon, that *all of them* were very great and enormous grievances; and *some whereof*, being most exorbitant, and barbarous, they we're of opinion ought to be quite abolished.—”

But let us now inquire what was the EVENT of this GREAT OFFER of the Irish Catholicks to Charles I. TO OBTAIN TOLERATION UNDER A PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT—?—

“ Upon

“ Upon the first tender of it to the government, a PROTESTATION against it was drawn up by Primate Usher, and *subscribed by twelve Bishops*; which protestation was solemnly pronounced by Dr. Downham, bishop of Derry, in Christ-church, before the Deputy, Privy Council, and Parliament; upon whom it had so powerful an effect, that the Catholics’ offer was SCORNFULLY REJECTED, and their religion SCURRILOUSLY ABUSED—” [Dr. Corry, Vol. I. page 109—and Sir Edward Walker’s Historical Discourses, page 337, folio—]

And Mr. Bayle, a foreigner, under the article of USHER, whose memoirs he relates in his Dictionary, observes “ That upon this occasion the Bishops of Ireland (his French expression is, *Primate Usher and his Suffragans*) proceeded UPON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MOST EXTRAVAGANT INTOLERANCE: That this PROTESTATION was not founded upon maxims of state, but *merely, and solely against the religious worship* of the church of Rome.—”

Now, gentlemen, this learned and accomplished man wrote so little under the influence of *the church of Rome*, or of any other church, that he was universally impeached of scepticism and infidelity.

I would now have done with the *ecclesiastical portion* of that persecution which has been inflicted upon Irish Catholics since the æra of the Reformation, but I cannot find in my heart, tho’ fatigued as you *must be*, both with me, and my quotations, to resist making you as sapient as myself regarding *the nature* of these strange extortions from the poor Catholics, by the *Protestant* clergy

clergy of those days, which I have just communicated to you, upon the authority of the journals of parliament—you must know, then, you heretical dissenters ! [for John Knox himself subsides into AN INDULGENT, AND MERCIFUL QUAKER, when brought into competition with these ecclesiasticks] that—“ There were great sums of money received by several bishops of this kingdom, for *commutation of penance* ; that in Conaught, and elsewhere, the clergy demanded sixpence per annum of every couple, *Holy-water-clark*—of every man who dies a *muttue*, sixpence by the way of *anointing money*—from a poor man that has but one cow, they take that for *mortuary*—from one who is better able, his best garment for *mortuary*—if a woman, her best garment for *mortuary*—a gallon of ale from every brewing, by the name of *mary-gallons*—for every beef which is killed at the funeral of any man, they demand the hide and the tallow, and they challenged a quarter besides—Sixpence per annum from every parishioner for *soul-money*—a ridge of winter-corn, and a ridge of oats for every plow, by the name of *St. Patrick's ridges*—The tenth part of the goods, after debts are paid, for *portion-cannons*, &c. &c.—[Remonstrance of the Commons—See Commons Journals, Vol. I p. 261.]

Now, gentlemen, I have put you in possession of the arcanum of anointing-money, mortuary, mary-gallons, soul-money, and St. Patrick's ridges ; which you never knew before, I am sure ; and *of itself*, it is worth the price of the book—so buy me not, grudgingly—

I am aware, it may be retorted that these impositions were learned from the Catholic clergy themselves

themselves of darker times : But that were only to aggravate the guilt of the *Reformed* clergy, who *protested* against impositions, which, when they obtained power, they instantly put in practice; adopting and exercising the oppressions which they had abjured.

If the Catholic clergy HAD an undue influence, I believe that *influence* is nearly verging to its close.—Through Europe those ambitious wings are clipt, by which the spiritual order soared to the dominations “of the kingdom which is of this world——” But God forbid, their influence should ever so far decline, as to render impotent their spiritual comforts, and exhortations; and *defeat* the *labours* and the *example* of learning, meekness, experience, disinterestedness, charity, and christian zeal.

And if these unfortunate Catholics, “*especially the poorer sort,*” as stated in the Commons’ Remonstrance, *did* pay these levies to their own clergy, the hardship and persecution only became the heavier, of being *compelled* to disburse them a second time, to a clergy who were not their own: in either way it argues against the Protestant tyranny.

But though they were *taxed* for supposed superstitions, they were totally precluded from the exercise of their devotions.—Mr. Hammon L’Estrange relates, [and with triumph, for he was himself a persecutor—see Harris’s *Fiction Unmasked*, page 99, Dub. Edit.] “That on St. Stephen’s-day, 1629, while the Lords Justices were at Christ-church in Dublin, the Papists were celebrating Mass in Cook-street; which their Lordships taking notice of, they sent the ARCH-
BISHOP

BISHOP with a file of Musketeers, and the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder of the city, to APPREHEND THEM ; which they did, pulling down the crucifixes and paraments of the altar ; the soldiers hewed down the image of St. Francis ; and the Priests and Franciscan Friars were delivered prisoners into the hands of the pursuivants ; but the people threw stones, and rescued them.—The Lords Justices being informed of this, sent the guards, and delivered them ; and immediately clapt eight Popish aldermen by the heels, for not assisting their mayor. On this account, fifteen chapels were seized to the King's use ; and the Priests and Friars were so persecuted, that (adds L'Estrange with seeming satisfaction) “ two of them hanged themselves in their own defence—” —But I think it much more probable that they were privately executed.

Now, certainly, that a Catholic populace should rescue their TEACHERS in such an exigency, or that eight respectable aldermen of Dublin should not chuse to hunt in couples, with their mayor, and go A PRIEST-CATCHING, does not excite any very forcible idea of criminality : But that a Protestant archbishop, with a profane, lewd, and armed soldiery at the tail of his sacerdotal habit, should interrupt, and villify the adoration of the same God in which he had, himself, a moment before, partaken ! And should imprison, and persecute to despair and to death, two of the priesthood of the same Christ Jesus, of whose order he himself was ! Oh monstrous—!—!—!— Let us hear no more of the Smithfields of bishop Bonner, and the bigotry of Mary Tudor !—

This persecution was afterwards extended all over the kingdom.—“ The English Council
G acquainted

acquainted the Justices of Ireland on that occasion, that his majesty in person was pleased, openly, and in a most gracious manner to approve and commend their ability, and good service; whereby they might be sufficiently encouraged to go on, till the work was fully done as well in the city as in all other places of the kingdom, *leaving to their discretion*, when, and where, to carry a softer, or harder hand—" [See *Serinia Sacra*, article II. d. of Eliz. statute] —This was effectually following up the advice given to Chichester, by Knox, Bishop of Raphoe—

But to keep in view, for a few paragraphs more, this oppressive and heavy levy, of one shilling per head on all Catholics omitting to attend the established Church on Sundays, and all holidays—

Lord Strafford and the privy council inform the King [Strafford's State Letters, Vol. I. p. 76.] "That it was impossible to improve the revenue, save only by imposing the twelve-pence a Sunday upon the Recusants" [that was those refusing to attend divine service]. And we find this proposal was readily agreed to by the King. And Doctor Leland says, [Vol. III. p. 26] "Bishop Bedel had united with all the inhabitants of his diocese, in a petition to the late Lords Justices, representing the new contribution as irregularly obtained, and oppressively levied—The present Lords Justices advised, [he ought to have said Lord Deputy, for Strafford had been in the government for near a year before] that the Recusants should be *strictly presented* by juries, and the weekly fines imposed for their absence from the established worship, *as a means of providing for the army—*" Which

Which was levying a tax upon their religion, for the providing for an army, which army was to be used by arch-bishops and lord-mayors as an instrument of destruction of the chapels, and priest-hood of that very Religion!— Could Domitian have invented more ingenious tyranny—?—

In July, 1633, Lord Wentworth landed in Dublin; and very shortly after, in a letter to archbishop Laud, he confesses that “ The duties had from the Irish were rather, indeed, violent takings, ravishments of the poor, than the modest, quiet levies of a pious and christian King—” [State Letters, Vol. I. p. 19.]

“ I shall labour, he continues, to make as many captains and officers, burgeses in this parliament, as I possibly can; who having immediate dependence on the Crown, may sway the business of the *two parties* which way I please—” These two parties were the Protestants and Recusants—Wentworth’s object was to procure pay for the army; the Catholics were satisfied it should be raised by a general tax; but the Protestants insisted upon having it levied entirely and solely upon the Catholics, *by the tax upon their religion*, according to the statute of the 11d. of Elizabeth—

Wentworth accordingly was very sedulous and active in procuring returns of his captains and officers, at the ensuing parliament; and to the exclusion of Catholic returns—Mr. Carte, in his Life of Ormond, relates “ That a Catholic was a Candidate for the City of Dublin in opposition to a Mr. Cataline, supported by the Castle—The Sheriff made a return contrary to the

the wish of the Court; and was immediately summoned by Wentworth to the Star chamber, where he fined him in 200l. and presently in 500l. more, for his refusing to set his hand to a part of his examination, which was to disable him from ever bearing that office in the city." "Which, adds his Lordship, wrought so good an effect, as giving present order for *a new sheriff*, and going to a new election next day, Cataline and Barry another Protestant were chosen—" [Carte's Ormond, Vol. I. p. 270.]

There is a curious passage respecting this parliament, illustrative of the use which Great Britain uniformly made of OUR UNHAPPY AND FATAL DIVISIONS—[State Letters, Vol. I. p. 331. Wentworth writes to the English Council] "In this parliament the parties were in a manner equal; some few odds on the Protestant side; and one watching the other, lest their fellow should rob them; *an emulation well fomented before hand*—" And an emulation well understood by Archbishop Boulter near a century after. —The worst of this affair, says he, is that it *unites* Papists and Protestants; and if that reconciliation takes place, farewell to English influence in this country—" [Boulter's Letters.]

About this time, Wentworth acquainted his majesty [State Letters, Vol. I. p. 350]. "That he should be able to make out a title for him to Conaught against all opposition: and that the acquisition to his majesty would be above one hundred and twenty thousand acres—"—Yet in the same year he had written to the Lord Treasurer [Vol. I. p. 340] "How to make out his majesty's title to Conaught and Ormond, which considering how they have been already attempted

attempted and foiled, is of all the rest the greatest difficulty, I have not hitherto received the least instruction from your lordship, or any minister on that side——But he had a very sufficient method of his own of *title-making*, taught him by Chichester—In State Letters, Vol. I. p. 442, Wentworth writes to the council, “ that he had given orders to his *managers* in Conaught, that when he went there to hold a court of Inquisition, gentlemen of the best estates in the different counties should be returned on the Juries which were to be held in the first trials of defective titles : because this being a leading case for the whole province, it would set a value upon the goodness of the king’s title ; *and if the Jury should prevaricate, I will be sure to have persons of such means as might answer to the king in a round fine, in the Castle chamber ;* and because *the fear of that fine* would be apter to produce the desired effect in such persons, than in others who had nothing to lose——”

Does the treatment of *any conquered country* parallel this tyranny ! and what picture do these passages present of the peacable, timid, submissive disposition of the innocent Catholicks, labouring under such accumulated wrongs——?

“ Wentworth’s Project, says Dr. Leland, was nothing less than to subvert the title to every estate, in every part of Conaught, and to establish a new plantation through that whole province. *A project which when first proposed in the late reign was received with horror, and amazement,* [Vol. 3. p. 30.] He also observes “ that needy projectors, and rapacious courtiers, still continued the scandalous traffic of pleading the king’s title against the possessors of estates, *seizing their lands, or forcing*

forcing them to grievous compositions—[Vol. 3. P. 13.]

One instance, from a multitude, of the cruel punishment of Jury-men in the star-chamber, who refused to find a title in needy projectors and rapacious courtiers, to the ancient estates and inheritances of their Catholic countrymen, a peaceable and unoffending race, I will adduce from my lord Wentworth's own narrative of his treatment of the Jury of the county of Galway.—This Jury would not comply, and find for the Deputy; and grievously they atoned for it.—

“ We bethought ourselves, writes his lordship, of a course to vindicate his Majesty's honor upon this occasion, not only against the persons of the Jurors, but also against the sheriff, for returning so insufficient a Jury; and therefore, *we fined the sheriff in a thousand pounds to his Majesty; and we have fined the Jurors four thousand pounds each; their estates are seized, and themselves imprisoned till the fines be paid*——” [State Letters of Strafford, Vol. I.]

Such was the sentence inflicted upon the first Magistrate of a county; and upon a jury, who gave a verdict according to their consciences; and would not make a *wanton conveyance of the inheritance of their Catholic neighbours*.—How ill this tyranny began to be relished by Strafford's own packed Parliament, about this time, may be collected from an extract of the grievances which, in his administration, the Commons voted real; and which, in one article, alludes to this case of the Sheriff, and gentlemen of Galway,—[Commons' Journals, Vol. I. page 94] “ That Jurors, who

who gave their verdict according to their consciences, were censured in the castle-chamber, (the star-chamber) in great fines; sometimes pillored, with loss of ears; *and bored through the tongue*; and sometimes marked in the forehead with an iron, with other infamous punishments.—” And Doctor Leland says, in his History, Vol. 3, page 32—“ The jurors of Galway were to remain in prison till each of them paid his fine of four thousand pounds; and acknowledged his offence in Court, upon his knees.—”

Against these united religious, and territorial depredations on the Catholics, by lord Straford and the Protestant government, the natives were destitute of all manner of defence; which is powerfully stated in that elevated and lamentable Remonstrance of the Catholics at Trim, on the 17th of March, 1642, “ The procuring of false inquisitions upon feigned titles to our estates, against many hundred years possession; and no traverse, or petition of right, admitted thereunto: and Jurors denying to find such claims were censured to public infamy, and ruin of their estates.—And nothing must stand against such claims to great and considerable parts of the kingdom, but letters patent under the great seal; and if letters patent be produced, as in most cases they were, none must be allowed valid, nor yet sought to be legally avoided; so that one hundred and fifty letters patent were declared void in one morning, *nearly to the utter ruin of the said Catholics.*—” [See Remonstrance of Trim, Section II.—Carte’s Ormond, Vol. III.]

But I have fatigued you out of measure; and will now lay a final restriction upon further quotation.—

tation.—Such, gentlemen, was the cruel oppression, such were the stimulus which drove the unprotected and desperate Irish *to the extremities, and to the violences of 1641* ; violences so magnified, and a war so little understood, that a critical research into the historical documents of the times, might vindicate the Catholics from the imputed *commencement* of these barbarities ; and ascertain that the ferocious hostilities of both sides were dilated, by feverish minds, into incredible exaggeration.

It would be unnecessary to swell these, already too tedious, pages, by any further declaration of opinion regarding general Catholic Rights, to which from my youth I have so frequently pledged my unimportant name.

The Bar and the Revenue, are their undoubted inheritance ; and their fidelity to their military engagements, long established, and every day exemplified in Europe, should peculiarly recommend them to the army and the marine.—If the regiment of Berwick, over whom James, a fugitive, and in a foreign land, bent his grey, discrowned head, and consecrated their fidelity with his tears, *should*, for having, after a lapse of 100 years, adhered to the same established military principle, and to the sacredness of an oath, *be considered by some Reformers*, as immature for renovators of the constitution, surely it can be no disqualification for their becoming the *soldiers* of the state.

Strange

Strange fatality attendant on the brave!—Fidelity to Religion and allegiance to the French Monarch, incapacitates them for the armies of their *natural* Sovereign; and excludes them from a constitution which professes *religious liberty*, and is strictly monarchical.

As to any profession or description of men, offering technical opposition to the emancipation of the Catholic body, not upon the ground of its being hazardous to the state, but because Catholics may divide with them the emoluments of office, the fees of profession, and the wages of certain crafts, its transcendent presumption would create a contemptuous laugh——Does any exclusive body, professional, or handicraft, imagine that parliament, and the great mass of four million and a half of people, agitating a comprehensive and a momentous national measure, will afford cognizance to the illiberality of petty monopoly: or continue to restrict two millions to poverty, because that poverty may minister to their *exclusive* gains?——

And God knows! the boon is but small, where the necessities are so calamitous——Government opens to the Catholic *gentlemen* an avenue to the departments of the law: and to the opulent tradesman an increase of his apprentices——in themselves, both highly acceptable——But how will this liberality extend itself to the peasant?——Where mourn they, the while!——within what clay-cold, roofless habitation does the strength and essence of the nation famish?——No man says, God bless *them*!——but the contempt of neglect is poured upon their innocent heads!——From *afar*, their faint ear hearkens to the fugacious sound
of

of Liberty, and for an instant they are erect to catch the long-expected call: But it dies away, impotent to their relief, and they relapse again to penury, and stupor!——

But, I am questioned wherefore have I recited these ancient oppressions, whose tendency may be to awaken their concomitant animosities?

If animosities are awakened, their opiate is in your possession, FOR REPARATION IS IN YOUR HANDS:—To relieve the misery of the peasantry is the *only object* of my researches; and the root of their disease lay deep, and required investigation to the source!—They ask but for the privileges of the Protestant yeoman!——That you will bestow a *boon* upon *them* which can nothing impoverish yourselves!——that you will extend to the Catholic farmer the ESSENTIAL SPIRIT of the constitution; which in the divine simile of the Poet, is a communication of fire to the lamp of another, without suffering a diminution of your own light, or heat——And had I any solicitude to be recollected by posterity I should require no other character to be inscribed upon my monument, than—

“ Here is deposited, the friend of the peasants;
The advocate of those who could not return him service;
But the country-people loved him—.”

You will observe, gentlemen, I have not dabbled with any *local* Ulster disturbances—I do not consider *them* within the scope of my present undertaking; I have no skill in the investigation of petty oppression, and the consequent resistance of the most calamitous of the species; nor do I pretend to ascertain the proportions of outrage
between

between a *local mob* of either religion:—they who bring their eyes to the ground will see dirt; I thank my God, my mind is disposed to contemplate the CATHOLIC CAUSE from a higher eminence.—

In behalf of *that cause* I have thus far ventured to express myself, with a boldness of language originating from the conviction of truth: and further than where I have now reached, it might be unnecessary for me to proceed: but it is the *ÆRA* of unrestrained speculation; and however I may accede to, or disapprove of the doctrines of the reigning mode, I rejoice at the present latitude of political discussion.—Truth never shrinks from the *investigation of reason*, tyranny and bigotry never hazard the encounter—the perfection of government is *the prosperity of the many*; and an enlightened people cannot too intimately investigate a subject which concerns themselves, and their posterity—

For my own part, therefore, I take liberty to acknowledge that I do not contemplate the late French Revolution as any model for British or Irish imitation; but, certainly, as an abstract object of our applause.—The *relative* circumstances of our government were dissimilar throughout.—They were reduced to the grievous necessity to destroy, and to create: Our's is the pleasing task to renovate and to restore.—We have a King, and two independent Houses of Legislature; they languished under a despotism.—And before the wise and virtuous in the State, consent to exchange that *venerable* combination for any *untried* experiment in politics, *however sanctioned by necessity* in another kingdom, let us push *our* Constitution to the extremity of perfection

perfection of which it is capable, and hazard the trial of it, in its renovated state, for half the period in which, for centuries it has conducted Great-Britain *to an extent of general human happiness*, totally unexperienced by ancient Republics.

The present situation of the French monarch, and the republican complexion of that national government, is irrelevant to the imperial crowns of Great-Britain and Ireland.—If the representation IN THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE of Parliament, be imperfect and inadequate, it is *our own concern*; and it is unquestionably IN OUR POWER to remedy it by a *constitutional* reform: WE HAVE NO COLOUR OF COMPLAINT AGAINST OUR SOVEREIGN: In his Majesty's reign we have partaken of advantages untasted in the island for centuries: Our *grievances* do not demand encroachment upon the crown: they proceed from an unconstitutional aristocratic influence in the people's House of Parliament, and from a Protestant monopoly established over the island. A comprehensive and unequivocal representation of the people, will afford every advantage which a REPUBLIC could hold out, while the two superior orders will happily shield us from its *excesses*.—But long since, and previous to the military Convention at the Rotunda, I warned my constituents of Lisburn, *in my first letter* addressed to them, that every plan of reform, and every effort for its accomplishment, would be IMPERFECT, and IMPOTENT, which did not comprehend the Catholic interest of the country: *and events have testified* that however youthful, I had not adopted a very erroneous system.

I imagine, that though republicanism were a preferable form of government, it would be
found

found unsuited to the genius, and the inveterate habits of Great-Britain and Ireland; that the PEOPLE themselves would not relish it; and therefore that it is unattainable in the effort, and impracticable in its continuation.

I prefer Monarchy, as more speedy and decisive in the executive office: I consider nobility as a stimulus to the ranks beneath it; and that it is always eligible, where *virtue* may be wanting, to substitute some other motive to useful exertion, equally operative, though not so pure: And I believe that where ALL are on a level, MONEY alone is monarch, nobility, and citizen; and *that*, of itself, is but a sordid qualification!—"Where has disappeared the disinterested boldness, the independent simplicity, and the enthusiastic bravery of the British gentry?" said some testy old grey-beard to Samuel Johnson:—"It is gone, Sir," replied the morose Doctor, "into the city, to look for a fortune.—"

"I can more readily admire," said Junius, "the liberal spirit, and integrity, *than the sound judgment of any man*, who prefers a republican form of government in this, or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy *so qualified and limited as ours*;—I am convinced that neither is it *in theory* the wisest system of government, *nor practicable in this country*:—yet, though I hope the British constitution will for ever preserve its original monarchical form, I would have the manners of the people strictly republican—I do not mean, *the licentious spirit of anarchy and riot*: I mean a general attachment to the common weal, distinct from any partial attachment to persons or families—an implicit submission to the laws only,
and

and an affection to the magistrate, proportioned to the integrity and wisdom with which he administers their affairs.—”

Let these pages, with which I have troubled you, become popular or otherwise, I must reply in the manly language of the writer I have lately quoted—“ I do not pretend to understand those prudent forms of decorum, those gentle rules of discretion, which some men endeavour to unite with the conduct of the greatest, and most hazardous affairs: engaged in the defence of an honourable cause, I would take a decisive part; and should scorn to provide for a future retreat—.”

I am not attached to cold friends, who dole out, with cautious hand, inadequate alleviation to calamity, and temporary mitigation to poverty and sorrow; being of the opinion of Coriolanus:

“ ————— That cold ways,
Which seem like prudent helps, are very poisonous,
When the disease is violent—————.”

The part I have ever supported upon this momentous disquisition, has been neither temporizing nor anonymous: I never came forward under concealed armour, but have encountered with my name upon my shield. Notwithstanding the blight of Envy, and the insinuations of Detraction, I CAN have no selfish views:—I revived this question at a period, when I incurred, even with my friends, the imputation of *indiscretion*,
from

from the universal dereliction of *the cause*.—In the South I am totally unconnected: to the North at large I have no claim of protection: and Lisburn, by a majority, has long since sold herself and *me*—Lisburn! which I loved with the unlimited affections of a *boy*; not wisely, but—too well—who imagined that from the honor and the ability of *him* who went before me, in every face I should behold a protector: in riper age, a *friend* in every schoolfellow: and, that after a noviciate of eight years unwarped and unequivocal discharge of my parliamentary delegation, I should gather a certain harvest of future confidence and support. Well! that delusion is past—no more fairy-land in Lisburn! Even those whom hereditary bounty had fed, stifled nature and gratitude, and accepted the bribe of a stranger.

I know that, in a degenerate country, to be disinterested and honourable in public affairs, is to create a host of powerful enemies: but no man need waste his spleen, and little resentments against *me*; for though I have no barrier but my integrity, that will be impregnable to his attack. But let him coolly retire with my book to his closet, and ask himself, *Are these things true?* If it be misrepresentation, let him *confute* me, and beat it down; and if it be incontrovertible, let him become a profelyte, and *amend*.

What I have written, I would upon my death-bed deliver: I am restricted to no party: I am no enthusiast for a *favourite* measure: I unite with no individual, but such as I think means honestly to the state, and *humanely* to the PEOPLE;—CRUELTY TO THEM, is the CAUSE that Ireland has so long pined in discontent and contemptibility.—

God

God has visited the UNFEELING with peculiar judgments—Ireland, an island with the finest ports in the world, and the most critically eligible situation for commerce, has been, comparatively with its extent, without commerce a hundred and fifty years—

An island which was incontestibly, if not the parent, certainly the fosterer of arts and learning, amid the darkness and barbarism of surrounding Europe, has been for a century, in competition with Great Britain, a prodigy of illiteracy; silent her seminaries of learning, and her booksellers now panders to the most DETESTABLE gambling.—

Ireland, whose *peculiar* political situation requires, and demands, her Representatives to be of independent fortunes, and of incorruptible integrity, beholds a gambling seminary plant itself, and flourish, under the very eye, and shade of legislation;—like an audacious prostitute, obtruding, in the place of prayer, upon the devotions of virtue. A gaming-house assaults the seat of justice, and jostles it from its pillars;—dares to rear aloft its shame-encircled front, and boldly summon the youth of Ireland, the future promise of the country, to vice and ruin, to impoverish their revenues, to anticipate debility, and to steel their feelings up to the very ADAMANT OF A GAMBLER'S HEART! that, without compunction, remorse, or shame, they may, through a private channel which runs into the House of Parliament, replenish their purses by *the sale of their vote*; and barter the *honor* of an Irishman, the prosperity of his tenants, and the commerce of his country, with any pelting petty officer whom the Minister of England shall send over as a Vote-Broker,
shall

shall place upon the backs of some of the asses of the country, and command the aristocracy of Ireland to bow down to, and to worship.

And these judgments never will be averted, 'till nakedness and famine, and a devouring tythe, be taken away from the threshold of the peasant;—till his little cottage be swept and garnished, and himself, a FREE MAN.

For the sake of experience, conscience, and common sense, let me, therefore, finally conjure my Protestant countrymen, for ever to eradicate from their minds the persecuting and impolitical prejudice of excluding the ancient peers, the respectable country gentlemen, the opulent merchants, the ingenious artificers, the labouring farmers, and all useful Irishmen of the Catholic church, from every exercise of citizenship, from every share in the government and administration of a country, whose WELFARE and TRANQUILITY is cemented with their own; is incontrovertibly as much THEIR INTEREST as any man's in the community—and the PILLARS of whose constitution were reared, asserted, and upheld by their fore-fathers!—

“———Of noblest temper heroes old,
Arming to battle, and instead of rage,
Delib'rate valour breathing——firm, and unmov'd
With dread of death, to FLIGHT, or foul RETREAT!”

In contradiction to all which I have now advanced, and without evidence or argument to speak to the HEAD, let RELIGIOUS RANCOUR, like the spirit of the first born Cain, the parent of
H distrust

distrust and malevolence, now stalk forward, and wrangle the human HEART——let it impeach the loyalty and tranquillity of the whole Catholic body, from the madness of a rout of peasants, wearied of life, and desperate from invincible poverty——let it assert, that all the blameless demeanour of that innocent and injured body, is deducible from their want of power, not of their willingness to rebel; that their civil oaths of allegiance are impious dissimulations: and that gratitude can have as weak a hold upon their minds, as any principle favorable to liberty——let this fanatical fury COME FORWARD, breathing discord into every bosom, stripping every merit of its reward, and investigating the most detestable motives, as lurking behind the most irreprehensible actions!——but if the monster will hazard an exhibition in light, we must arm against its poison, and offer it unceasing combat, with the weapons presented to us by EXPERIENCE, HISTORY, and the TIMES: and thus accoutred, WE CHALLENGE THE SPECTRE TO APPEAR!

I remain, gentlemen, with thanks for your having travelled through my tedious, but not entirely inefficacious volume, your very respectful servant.——Censure, or approbation, are hourly becoming objects more remote from my consideration; I discharge my duty; and the gradual decay of my health, forewarns me it is my safest consolation: but I truly congratulate myself, that at length my ideas upon this momentous disquisition, are consonant to the opinions of so RESPECTABLE A BODY of my more peculiar countrymen—

WILLIAM TODD JONES.

BRAY,
Jan. 29th, 1792.



